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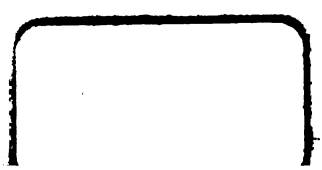
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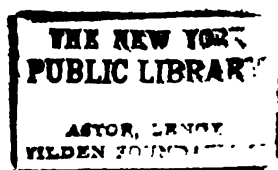
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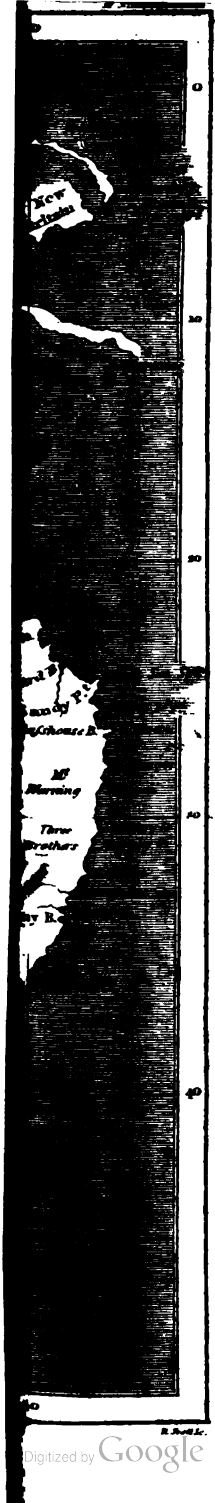
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THE
HISTORY
OF
NEW SOUTH WALES,
FROM ITS
FIRST DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME;
COMPRISING
An accurate and interesting Description of that
VAST AND REMARKABLE COUNTRY;
AND OF THE
Persons, Manners, and Customs, of the Natives;
WITH A SUCCINCT DETAIL OF THE
ESTABLISHMENT AND PROGRESS
OF THE
ENGLISH COLONY;
INCLUDING
Every important Particular relative to the
SITUATION AND CONDUCT OF THE CONVICTS:
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A DESCRIPTION OF
Van Dieman's Land and Norfolk Island,
With Reflections on the Importance of the
SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

COMPILED FROM THE BEST AND MOST RECENT AUTHORITIES,
BY A LITERARY GENTLEMAN.

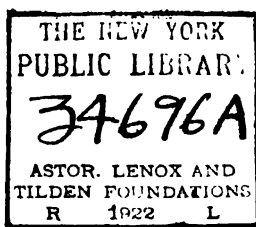
by
Illustrated with a Map and elegant Engravings.

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INTRODUCTION

THE practice of transporting criminals is said to have commenced in the reign of James I.; but the year 1619 is the memorable epoch of its origin; for then America was specified as the place of banishment. This mode of punishment produced the most beneficial effects; it not only removed from the public eye the unpleasing objects of chains and servitude, so repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen, and relieved the country from the burden of subjects not less useless than pernicious, but also contributed to the population and prosperity of our distant colonies. It may, indeed, be questioned, whether any method could have been devised so effectual for promoting the security of society, and rendering the guilty persons just to themselves; for correcting their moral depravity, inducing habits of industry, and arming them in future against the temptations by which they were once ensnared.

But the American revolution suspended the operations of this policy, and in order to remove the incon-

veniences that ensued, criminals were, among other expedients, transported to the coast of Africa, where, what was meant as an alleviation of punishment, too frequently ended in death. This induced government to turn their attention to the great southern continent; and, accordingly, Botany Bay, on the eastern coast of New Holland, was fixed on, conformably to the suggestion of the immortal Cook, as the most eligible situation for the establishment of a new colony. The adventurers to this unknown region sailed in May, 1787.

Were we to indulge a speculative curiosity concerning the tendency of this enterprize, there are few topics that would afford a more ample scope for conjecture. From smaller and not more respectable beginnings, powerful empires have frequently risen; and when we reflect on the excellent situation and vast extent of the country, combined with the energetic character of the settlers, we may justly anticipate consequences pregnant with glory and advantage to the British empire. To all, even the most phlegmatic, it must appear a striking proof of the flourishing state of navigation in the present age, and a singular illustration of its vast progress since the early nautical efforts of mankind; that whereas the ancients coasted with timidity along the shores of the Mediterranean, and thought it a great effort to run cross the narrow sea which separates Crete from Egypt, Great Britain, without hesitation, sends out a fleet to plant a settlement near the antipodes.

Already has the nascent colony of New South Wales excited the cupidity of *la grande nation*; for it is clearly evident that the sole object of Bonaparte in dispatching Peron and Baudit on a pretended voyage of discovery round the world, was to observe what our colonists were doing, and what was left to the French to do, on this great continent, in the event of a peace; to find some port in the neighbourhood of our settlements, which should be to them what Pondicherry was to Hindostan; to rear the standard of Napoleon, then First Consul, on the first convenient spot; and, finally, to gratify his vanity by snatching the merit of discovery from its rightful possessors, and imposing his name on nine hundred leagues of coast!

It is a subject of honest exultation to Britons, that their language, their customs, and laws, are established in the extreme parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa; that they have given existence to an empire in America; and that their infant colonies in the southern continent will probably preserve the name, the spirit, and the literature, of their forefathers, after the existence of Britain in Europe shall have been involved in the common fate of all human establishments.

In whatever point of view we consider the subject of the following work, it appears highly interesting. Without anticipating the destiny of the new world, there are sufficient matter to excite the liveliest curiosity, in contrasting the actions of two distinct sets of people; the one the children of rude uncultivated nature entering upon the stage; the other the disci-

ples of vice, in its most refined state, driven from more polished scenes.

The materials have been carefully selected and arranged from the voluminous writings of those enterprising adventurers which have visited this new and distant country; and comprehends every particular which could convey either information or amusement to the general class of readers. The simple enumeration of the different authorities to which the editor has referred, would be a sufficient proof of the labour expended in the compilation, and this shall be given at the conclusion. Trusting to the discernment of an enlightened public for remuneration, the publishers usher, with confidence, this little work into the world; a work perhaps unequalled for the uncommon scenes which it exhibits, and with which very few are acquainted.

THE
HISTORY
OF
NEW SOUTH WALES, &c.

CHAP. I.

First Discoveries of the Coast of New Holland—General View of the Country.

BEFORE we commence the history of the infant settlement on the east coast of New Holland, it will be proper to give a brief narrative of the progressive discoveries that have been made on the coasts of that extensive country.

Leaving the enquiry how far the density, or weight, of land and water, are able to counterpoise each other, to the researches of the philosophic mind, we shall only remark, that from the time of the discovery of America, it was a pretty generally received opinion, among geographers, that there was some vast undiscovered continent ranging up towards the South Pole, to balance those amazing tracts of land that abut upon the North Pole; and that it has, for two hundred years, been the ambition of the intrepid navigator to explore such continent.

The first account we have of this country, is in a memorial delivered to the court of Spain, by Don Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, in 1609, in which he asserts, that, patronized by the Viceroy of Peru, he had spent fourteen years, and travelled 20,000 leagues by land and sea, in prosecuting discoveries. In this memorial he solicits for the necessary means to settle those countries he had discovered, which he called a continent, equal in bigness to Europe and the Lesser Asia; he describes the country as well supplied with the necessaries of life, yielding gold, silver, spices, and pearls, and filled with inhabitants of different colours. He also mentions the discovery of a clump of about twenty islands, which he first supposed to be all one country. Those lands, agreeable to the custom of that age, he took possession of under the name of La Austrialia del Espiritu Santo, and lays them down as in and about 15 degrees of south latitude.

When we consider the length of time that Don Pedro spent in this service, that he took his departure from the coast of Peru, and that his course was to the west, there is little doubt that the islands he mentions were those now called the New Hebrides; and that falling in with the north side of New Guinea, a country nearly answering his description, both for produce and population, and being ignorant of the strait that divides it from New South Wales, he might consider those two places, together with new Holland, as one vast continent.

From the time of De Quiros to the middle of the 17th century, we have no authentic relation of any discoveries of the Australis, or Southern Continent. We only know in general, that a Dutchman, in 1616, fell in with a part of its west coast, between 24 and 25 degrees south latitude, to which he gave the name of Eendragt Land. That in 1618, another part of this coast, nearly 15 deg. south, was discovered by Zeachen, who gave it the name of Arnheim and Diemen. In the following year, Jan Van Edels gave his name to a southern part of it, and another part of the coast

received the name of *Leuwen*. In 1627, Peter Van Nuyts gave his name to a coast which communicates with *Leuwen's Land* to the west; and about the same time, a great part of the west coast, near the tropic of *Capricorn*, received the name of *De Wits*. In 1628, Peter Carpenter, a Dutchman, explored the great gulph on the north coast, named the gulph of *Carpentaria*, which intersects the country near eight degrees of latitude. In June, 1629, Captain Francis Pelsart was wrecked on the west coast, in about 28 deg. south latitude, and his ship's company were left in the greatest distress, upon these small islands, until he could go back to *Batavia* for succours, to which place the majority of them happily returned. There is no doubt but the greater part of those commanders made some discoveries in the country; but whatever they were, they were suppressed, most probably, by order of the Dutch East India Company.

In the year 1642, Captain Abel Jansen Tasman, was sent from *Batavia* for the express purpose of making a perfect survey of this country, which by this time had received the name of *New Holland*. That this task was faithfully performed, we have no reason to doubt, as the map of *New Holland*, delineated on the pavement of the *Stadt-house* at *Amsterdam*, was made from the lights afforded by his journal. The journal was never published entire, and probably was never intended to be published at all.

About 40 years after Captain Tasman's discoveries in *Van Dieman's Land*, Captain Dampier successfully explored part of the northern coast, about 17 degrees latitude. In consequence of the reputation Captain Dampier had acquired by this voyage, he was fixed on to command a ship fitted out purposely to prosecute discoveries in the Southern Ocean; and sailed from England on that design, January 14, 1699, in his Majesty's ship *Roebuck*, mounting 12 guns, the ship's company consisting of fifty men and boys. On the 5th of August in the same year, he again fell in with *New Holland*,

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where he spent five weeks in ranging along its west coast, to the extent of 900 miles.

The first anchorage he made was in Shark's Bay, so named by him from the abundance of that voracious fish he found there, in latitude 25 degrees south. He describes the country which he visited as being fenced by a chain of sand hills towards the sea, which effectually conceal the interior from the view. The land in general is low and level, partly savannas and partly woodland; the former affords a coarse kind of grass, and the latter groves of trees, not above twelve or fourteen feet in height. There are few land-animals or fowls; but sea-fowls are remarkably numerous. Fish, of various kinds, are very abundant, and the shore is covered with very beautiful shells, differing in colour and shape. He also discovered some green turtle, and whales were observed in great numbers. The few natives who were seen are described as horribly ugly and repulsive; a set of human beings thrust to the extreme verge of misery, and whose only covering consisted of a bit of kangaroo skin thrown carelessly over the shoulders; every other part of the body being entirely naked.

Hitherto we had been confined to the western coast of New Holland, and were obliged to Dampier for the principal part of our knowledge of its soil, productions, and inhabitants; for the discoveries of the Dutch were not only suppressed, but even the property seized and the persons imprisoned, of such as ventured to sail in these latitudes, without permission of the Dutch East India Company. To that illustrious navigator, Captain James Cook, we are indebted for the fullest description of New Holland. On the 19th of April, 1770, he fell in with this extensive tract of country in latitude 38 south, and accurately surveyed the coast to 10 deg. 39 min. a course of upwards of 2000 miles. During this run he frequently set up the British flag on the shore, and, with the usual solemnities, took possession of it for his Majesty King George III. under the name of NEW SOUTH WALES.

Botany Bay was described by Captain Cook as affording capacious, safe, and convenient anchorage for ships, and was so named from the great variety of plants which were found here by his scientific companions. We shall not, however, repeat his description of this country or the inhabitants, as we are now in possession of more recent and more particular accounts, which will be given in the sequel.

The full discovery of the extent of New Holland has formed a singular epoch in geography; a doubt having arisen from it, whether to a land of such magnitude the name of island or that of continent may more properly be applied. To this question it may be answered, that though the etymology of the word island, and of others synonymous to it, points out only a land surrounded by the sea, or by any water, (in which sense the term is applicable even to the largest portions of the habitable globe), yet it is certain that, in the usual acceptation, an island is conceived to signify a land of only moderate extent, surrounded by the sea. To define at what point of magnitude precisely a country so situated shall begin to be a continent, could not answer any purpose of utility; but the best and clearest rule for removing the doubt appears to be the following: As long as the peculiar advantages of an insular situation can be enjoyed by the inhabitants of such a country, let it have the title of an island; when it exceeds those limits, let it be considered as a continent. Now the first and principal advantage of an island is that of being capable of a convenient union under one government, and of deriving thence a security from all external attacks, except by sea. In lands of very great magnitude such a union is difficult, if not impracticable, and a distinction founded on this circumstance is therefore sufficient for convenience at least, if not for speculative accuracy. If we suppose this extent to be something about one thousand miles each way, without, however, affecting much rigour in the limitation, the claim of New Holland to be called a continent will be indisputable: The greatest extent of that vast country being,

from east to west, about two thousand four hundred English miles, and, from north to south, not less than two thousand three hundred.

CHAP. II.

Preparation of the Fleet ordered to Botany Bay—Particulars of its Arrangement—Departure and passage to the Canary Islands—Leaves Teneriffe and arrives at the Brazils—Transactions at Rio de Janeiro—Passage to the Cape of Good Hope—Departure and Separation of the Fleet—Arrival of the Supply at Botany Bay.

LONG experience having approved the practice of employing the services of felons in remote and rising settlements, Government about the end of the year 1786 engaged six transports, and three store ships, to convey the persons designed to form a new settlement at Botany Bay. Stores and provisions necessary for their use and consumption were also provided. Of the latter, sufficient for two years were put on board; and among the former, were tools, implements of agriculture, and such other articles as were considered necessary to a colonial establishment.

The government of the colony was intrusted by his His Majesty to Arthur Phillip, Esq. a post-captain in the service, who hoisted his pendant on board the *Sirius*, a ship which mounted only twenty guns, but which from the strength of her construction (having been built for the East-India Company's service) was judged to be well calculated for such an expedition. Associated with her in the service of the colony, was the Supply brig, the command of which was given to Lieutenant Henry Lidgbird Ball; and it being thought necessary to appoint another captain to the *Sirius*, who should command her on any service in which she might be employed for the colony, while Captain Phillip should be engaged in his government, an order was signed by His Majesty in council, directing the Admiralty Board to appoint John Hunter, Esq. then a

commander in the navy, to be the second captain of the *Sirius*, with the rank of post.

When the fleet was prepared for sailing, the complement of convicts and marines on board the transports was thus arranged. The *Friendship* carried a captain and forty-four marines, subalterns and privates, with seventy-seven male and twenty female convicts. The *Charlotte*, a captain and forty-three men, with eighty-eight male and twenty female convicts. In the *Alexander* were two lieutenants and thirty-five marines, with two hundred and thirteen convicts, all male. In the *Scarborough*, a captain and thirty-three marines, with male convicts only, two hundred and eight in number. The *Prince of Wales* transport had two lieutenants and thirty marines, with one hundred convicts, all female. And the *lady Penryn*, a captain, two lieutenants, and only three privates, with one hundred and two female convicts. Ten marines, of different denominations, were also sent as supernumeraries on board the *Sirius*. The whole complement of marines, including one major commandant, 4 captains, 12 lieutenants, 12 serjeants, 12 corporals, 8 drummers, and 160 privates, with an adjutant and quarter-master, amounted to two hundred and twelve; besides which, twenty-eight women, wives of marines, carrying with them seventeen children; were permitted to accompany their husbands. The number of convicts was seven hundred and seventy-eight, of whom five hundred and fifty-eight were men.

On Sunday the 18th of May, 1787, the ships, which had previously collected at the Mother Bank, sailed with a leading wind through the Needle Passage, accompanied by the Hon. Captain de Coarey, in the *Hyaena* frigate. As this ship was to proceed with the fleet only to a certain latitude, she soon quitted it, and this band of adventurers were left to pursue their way to the island of Teneriffe, which port they shortly after reached. The ships were immediately moored, the masters taking the precaution of buoying their cables with empty casks, to prevent their being injured by rocks or foul ground;

an inconvenience which had been frequently experienced by navigators in this road.

His Excellency the Marquis de Brancefortz, the governor of the island, politely offering Captain Phillip whatever assistance he might need, and that was in his power to furnish, the provisioning and watering of the fleet was soon completed, and at the end of a week it again put to sea.

Nothing remarkable occurred during their stay here, except the desertion of John Powers, one of the convicts, who was, however, by the activity of the master of the transport in which he had embarked, (a penalty of forty pounds being the forfeiture on his entire escape), and a party of marines, soon recovered, and sent on board his ship, with directions for his being heavily ironed.

The passage of the fleet to Rio de Janeiro was performed without any material accident in eight weeks, and had fortunately been unattended with any disease, the surgeon reporting that they had brought in only 95 sick, comprehending every description of persons in the fleet. Many, however, of this number, were bending only under the pressure of age and attendant infirmities, having no other complaints among them.

During their stay in this port, which was about a month, the convicts were each served daily with a pound of rice, and a pound and a half of fresh meat (beef), together with a suitable proportion of vegetables. Great numbers of oranges (a fruit with which the place abounded) were at different times distributed amongst them; and every possible care was taken to refresh and put them into a state of health and condition to resist the attacks of the scurvy, should it make its appearance in the long passage over the ocean which was yet between them and New South Wales.

The next and last port of refreshment at which the fleet was to stop, was the Cape of Good Hope. Thither it bent its course, on quitting Rio de Janeiro; and in the short space of five weeks and four days, crossed over from one continent to

the other, a distance of upwards of eleven hundred leagues, fortunately without separation, or any accident having happened.

Here it was intended to lay in such articles of stores and provisions as had not been purchased in England; under the idea that, from their being a less time at sea, they would arrive in higher preservation than they would have done had they been put on board in the river.

Our voyagers found provisions less plentiful and less reasonable in price at Cape Town than they had been taught to expect. In the course of a month the live stock and other provisions were procured; and the ships, having on board not less than five hundred animals of different kinds, but chiefly poultry, put on an appearance which naturally enough excited the idea of Noah's ark.

As it was earnestly wished to introduce the fruits of the Cape into the new settlement, Captain Phillip was ably assisted in his endeavours to procure the rarest and the best of every species, both in plant and seed, by Mr Mason, the king's botanist, as well as by Colonel Gordon, at that time the commander in chief of the troops at the Cape*.

Every thing being arranged for its departure, the fleet proceeded with a fair wind towards New South Wales, the place of its final destination. It was natural for the thinking part of the colonists to indulge at this moment a melancholy re-

* The following plants and seeds were procured at the Cape, and at Rio de Janeiro :—

At Rio de Janeiro—Coffee, both seed and plant; Cocoa, in the nut; Cotton, seed; Banana, plant; Oranges, various sorts, both seed and plant; Lemon, seed and plant; Guava, seed; Tamarind; Prickly Pear, plant with the cochineal on it; Eugenia, or pomme-rose, a plant bearing a fruit in shape like an apple, and having the flavour and odure of a rose; Ipecacuanha, three sorts; Jalap.

At the Cape of Good Hope—The Fig tree, Bamboo, Spanish reed, Sugar cane, Vines of various sorts, Quince, Apple, Pear, Strawberry, Oak, Myrtle.

flection which obtruded itself upon the mind. The land behind them was the abode of a civilized people; that before them was the residence of savages: when, if ever, they might again enjoy the commerce of the world, was very uncertain. The refreshments and pleasures of which they had so liberally partaken at the Cape, were to be exchanged for coarse fare and hard labour at New South Wales. All communication with families and friends now cut off, they were leaving the world behind them, to enter on a state unknown; and, as if it had been necessary to imprint this idea more strongly on their minds, at the close of the evening of the day on which they sailed, they spoke a ship from London. The metropolis of their native country, its pleasures, its wealth and its consequence, thus accidentally presented to the mind, failed not to afford a most striking contrast with the object then principally in their view.

For several days after they had sailed, the wind was unfavourable, and blowing fresh with much sea, some time elapsed before they had reached to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. This being at length accomplished, Captain Phillip, embarking in the *Supply*, proceeded forward, accompanied by the *Scarborough*, *Alexander*, and *Friendship*, transports. On board of these three ships was the greater part of the male convicts, whom Captain Phillips had sanguine hopes of employing to much advantage, before the *Sirius*, with that part of the fleet which was to remain under Captain Hunter's direction, should arrive upon the coast. He was also attended by Major Ross, the commandant of the marine detachment (and lieutenant-governor of the settlement), together with the adjutant and quarter-master, in order to co-operate with him in his intention of preparing, as far as time might allow, for the reception of the rest of the convoy. But when the *Sirius* anchored in Botany Bay, Captain Hunter was informed that the *Supply* had preceded him in his arrival only two days; and the three transports, under the agent, Lieutenant Shortland, had gained but one day of the *Sirius* and her convoy,

most of which began to grow foul long before their arrival, not one of them being coppered.

Thus was happily completed in eight months and one week (the whole fleet being safe at anchor on the 20th of January, 1788), a voyage which, before it was undertaken, the mind hardly dared venture to contemplate, and on which it was impossible to reflect without some apprehension as to its termination. In the course of that time they had sailed fifteen thousand and sixty-three miles; had touched at the American and African continents; and had at last rested within a few days sail of the Antipodes of their native country, without meeting any accident, in a fleet of eleven sail, nine of which were merchantmen that had never before sailed in that distant and imperfectly explored ocean; and when it was considered that there was on board a large body of convicts, many of whom were embarked in a very sickly state, they might be deemed peculiarly fortunate, that of the whole number of all descriptions of persons coming to form the new settlement, only thirty-two had died since their leaving England, among whom were to be included one or two deaths by accident; although previous to their departure, it had been conjectured, that before they should have been a month at sea, one of the transports would have been converted into an hospital ship. Fortunately, however, it happened otherwise. Their provisions were excellent, and they had all partaken liberally of refreshments at the Cape of Good Hope and Rio de Janeiro.

CHAP. III.

Inconvenience of Botany Bay—The Governor proceeds to Port Jackson, where it is determined to fix the Settlement—Removal from Botany Bay—Arrival of two French Ships, under M. de la Perouse—The Sirius and Convoy arrive at Port Jackson—Preparations for Encampment—Commission and Letters patent read—Government of the Colony.

THE governor had employed the short time which he had gained in examining the bay ; but on their arrival he had not seen any spot to which some strong objection did not apply. If in one place he met with a promising soil, it was deficient in that grand essential, fresh water, and was besides too confined for their numbers. He therefore determined on examining the adjacent harbours of Port Jackson and Broken Bay ; and for that purpose set off the day following the arrival of the Sirius and her convoy, in three open boats, accompanied by some of the officers of the settlement.

The coast, as he drew near Port Jackson, wore a most unpromising appearance, and the natives every where greeted the little fleet with shouts of defiance and prohibition, the words " Warra warra," Go away, go away, resounding wherever they appeared. The governor's utmost expectation, as he drew near the harbour, being to find what Captain Cook, as he passed it by, thought might be found, shelter for a boat ; he was most agreeably surprised at discovering, on his entrance, a harbour capable of affording security for a large fleet.

In one of the coves of this noble and capacious harbour, he determined to fix the future seat of his government, it having been found to possess a sufficiency of water and soil. Having completed his research in three days, he returned to Botany Bay, and gave directions for an immediate removal thence ; a circumstance which gave general satisfaction, as nothing had been discovered in that place which could excite a wish

to pass another day in it. This removal would have taken place the morning following his return ; but at day-light they were surprised by the appearance of two strange sail in the offing. Various were the conjectures of what nation these could be, and whence they had arrived. It was soon known, however, that they were two French ships, *Le Boussole* and *L'Astrolabe*, under the command of M. de la Perouse, then on a voyage of discovery.

That Botany Bay should have appeared to Captain Cook in a more advantageous light than to Governor Phillip, is not by any means extraordinary. Their objects were very different: the one required only shelter and refreshment for a small vessel, and during but a short time: the other had great numbers to provide for, and was necessitated to find a place wherein ships of very considerable burthen might approach the shore with ease, and lie at all times in perfect security. The appearance of the place is picturesque and pleasing, and the ample harvest it afforded, of botanical acquisitions, made it interesting to the philosophical gentlemen engaged in that expedition; but something more essential than beauty of appearance, and more necessary than philosophical riches, must be sought in a place where the permanent residence of multitudes is to be established.

As Captain Hunter, with whom the governor had left the charge of bringing the *Sirius* and transports round to Port Jackson, (whither he had preceded them in the *Supply*) was working out when M. de la Perouse entered Botany Bay, the two commanders had barely time to exchange civilities; and it must naturally have created some surprize in the French to find the English fleet abandoning the harbour at the very time when they were preparing to anchor in it; indeed, M. de la Perouse afterwards said, that "until he had looked round him in Botany Bay, he could not divine the cause of their quitting it; having expected, from the intelligence given him at Kamschatka, to have found a town built and a market established; but by what he had already seen of the country,

he was convinced of the propriety and absolute necessity of the measure.

Governor Phillip, with a party of marines and some artificers, arrived in Port Jackson, and anchored off the mouth of the Cove intended for the settlement, on the evening of the 25th; and in the course of the following day, sufficient ground was cleared for encamping the officer's guard, and the convicts who had landed in the morning. The spot chosen for this purpose was at the head of the Cove, near a run of fresh water, which stole silently through a very thick wood, the stillness of which had then, for the first time since the creation, been interrupted by the rude sound of the labourer's axe, and the downfall of its ancient inhabitants :—a stillness and tranquillity which, from that day, were to give place to the noise of labour, the confusion of camps and towns, and the busy hum of its new possessors.

This impressive scene has not escaped the notice of the painter and the poet. The ingenious Mr Wedgewood modelled a medallion from a small piece of fine clay sent from Sydney Cove. The design is allegorical; it represents Hope encouraging Art and Labour, under the influence of Peace, to pursue the employments necessary to give security and happiness to an infant settlement. The following beautiful verses were written by Dr Darwin, the ingenious author of the *Botanic Garden*, in allusion to this allegory. To readers of taste any encomium of ours on their merits would be quite unnecessary.

“ Where Sydney Cove her lucid bosom swells,
Courts her young navies, and the storm repels;
High on a rock amid the troubled air
HOPE stood sublime, and wav'd her golden hair;
Calm'd with her rosy smile, the tossing deep,
And with sweet accents charm'd the winds to sleep;
To each wide plain she stretched her snowy hand,
High-waving wood, and sea-encircled strand.

"Hear me," she cried, "ye rising realms ! record
 Time's op'ning scenes, and Truth's unerring word.—
There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,
 The circus widen, and the crescent bend ;
There, ray'd from cities o'er the cultur'd land,
 Shall bright canals, and solid roads expand.—
There the proud arch, Colossus-like, bestride
 Yon glitt'ring streams, and bound the chafing tide ;
 Embellish'd villas crown the landscape-scene,
 Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between.—
There shall tall spires, and dome-capt tow'rs ascend,
 And piers and quays their massy structures blend ;
 While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,
 And northern treasures dance on ev'ry tide !"—
 Then ceas'd the nymph—tumultuous echoes roar,
 And JOY's loud voice was heard from shore to shore—
 Her graceful steps, descending, press'd the plain,
 And PEACE, and ART, and LABOUR, join'd her train."

In the evening of this day, the whole of the party then present were assembled at the point where they had first landed in the morning, and on which a flag-staff had been purposely erected, and an union jack displayed ; when the marines fired several volleys ; between which the healths of his Majesty and the Royal Family, with success to the new colony, were most cordially drank. The day, which had been extremely fine, concluded with the safe arrival of the Sirius and the convoy from Botany Bay,—thus terminating the voyage with the same good fortune which had from its commencement been so conspicuously their friend and companion.

The disembarkation of the troops and convicts took place from the following day, until the whole were landed. The confusion that ensued will not be wondered at, when it is considered, that every man stepped from the boat literally into a wood. Parties of people were every where heard and seen variously employed ; some in clearing ground for the different encampments ; others in pitching tents, or bringing up such stores as were more immediately wanted ; and the

spot which had so lately been the abode of silence and tranquillity was now changed to that of noise, clamour, and confusion; but after a short time, order gradually prevailed. As the woods were opened and the ground cleared, the various encampments were extended, and all wore the appearance of regularity and decorum.

As soon as the hurry and tumult necessarily attending the disembarkation had a little subsided, the governor caused his Majesty's commission, appointing him to be his captain-general and governor in chief in and over the territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, to be publicly read, together with the letters-patent for establishing the courts of civil and criminal judicature in the territory. The ceremony of reading these public instruments having been performed by the judge-advocate, the Governor addressed the convicts, assured them, among other things, that "he should ever be ready to shew approbation and encouragement to those who proved themselves worthy of them by good conduct; while, on the other hand, such as were determined to act in opposition to propriety, would inevitably meet with the punishment that they deserved." He remarked how much it was their interest to forget the habits of vice and indolence in which too many of them had hitherto lived; and exhorted them to be honest among themselves, obedient to their overseers, and attentive to the several works in which they were about to be employed.

It appeared by the letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, that his Majesty had authorised, by his commission under the great seal, "the Governor, or in his absence the lieutenant-governor, to convene from time to time, as occasion might require, a court of criminal jurisdiction; which court was to be a court of record, and to consist of the judge-advocate and such six officers of the sea and land service as the Governor should, by precept issued under his hand and seal, require to assemble for that purpose. The major part of this court to adjudge whether or not the prisoner be guilty.

If guilty, and the offence be capital, they are to pronounce sentence of death, or such corporeal punishment as should be deemed fit. There is also a civil court, consisting of the Judge advocate and two inhabitants appointed by the governor. This court has full power to hear and determine all personal pleas, and to grant probates of wills, &c. In addition to these courts there is a vice-admiralty court for the trial of offences committed upon the high seas, of which the lieutenant-governor is constituted. The Governor has, beside that of captain-general, a commission constituting him vice-admiral of the territory; and another vesting him with authority to hold general courts-martial, and to confirm or set aside the sentence. The major-commandant of the detachment had the usual power of assembling regimental or battalion courts-martial for the trial of offences committed by the soldiers under his command.

CHAP. IV.

Depravity of the Convicts—One of them executed—Transactions after the Landing—The Supply sent to Norfolk Island—Description of that place—Natives of Port Jackson.

THE convicts had been mustered early in the morning, when nine were reported to be absent: From the situation which had been unavoidably adopted, it was impossible to prevent these people from straggling. Fearless of the danger which must attend them, many had visited the French ships in Botany Bay, soliciting to be taken on board. It was soon found, that they had secreted at least one-third of their working-tools, and that any sort of labour was with difficulty procured from them.

Governor Phillip soon found, with great regret, though doubtless, without much surprize, that in the community committed to his care, the strict enforcement of the sanctions

of law was peculiarly necessary. There were in it many individuals whom neither lenity could touch, nor rigour terrify; who, without sense of social duty, appeared to have lost all value for life itself, and with the same wantonness exposed themselves to the darts of the savages, and to the severe punishments which, however reluctantly, every society must inflict when milder methods have been tried without success. Towards the latter end of February a criminal court was convened, in which six of the convicts received sentence of death. One, who was the head of the gang, was executed the same day; of the rest, one was pardoned; the other four were reprieved, and afterwards exiled to a small island within the bay, where they were kept on bread and water. These men had frequently robbed the stores, and the other convicts. He who suffered, and two others, had been detected in stealing from the stores the very day that they had received a week's provision; at a time when their allowance, as settled by the navy board, was the same as that of the soldiers, spirituous liquors excepted. So inveterate were their habits of dishonesty, that even the apparent want of a motive could not repress them.

A portable canvas-house, brought over for the Governor, was erected on the east side of the Cove, (which was named Sydney) where a small body of convicts were put under tents. The detachment of marines was encamped at the head of the Cove near the stream; and on the west side was placed the main body of the convicts. Every person belonging to the settlement being landed, the numbers amounted to 1030 persons. The tents for the sick were placed on the west side; and it was observed, with concern, that their numbers were fast increasing. The scurvy, that had not appeared during the passage, now broke out; which, aided by a dysentery, began to fill the hospital, and several died. In addition to the medicines that were administered, every species of esculent plants that could be found in the country were procured for them: wild celery, spinnach, and parsley, fortunately grew in

great abundance: those who were in health, as well as the sick, were very glad to introduce them into their messes, and found them a pleasant as well as wholesome addition to the ration of salt provisions.

The public stock, consisting of one bull, four cows, one bull-calf, one stallion, three mares, and three colts, was removed to a spot at the head of the adjoining Cove, which was cleared for a small farm, intended to be placed under the direction of a person brought out by the governor.

Some ground having been prepared near his Excellency's house on the east side, the plants from Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope were safely brought on shore; and the new settlers soon had the satisfaction of seeing the grape, the fig, the orange, the pear, and the apple, those delicious fruits of the Old, taking root and establishing themselves in their New World.

Houses for the reception of the stores were begun as soon as sufficient ground was cleared for that purpose; and it was found most to the advantage of the public service to employ the convicts in task-work, allotting a certain quantity of ground to be cleared by a certain number of persons in a given time, and allowing them to employ what time they might gain, till called on again for public service, in bringing in materials and erecting huts for themselves. But these unfortunate people for the most part preferred passing in idleness the hours that might have been so profitably spent, straggling into the woods, or visiting the French ships in Botany Bay.

Among the buildings that were early erected was an observatory on the western point of the Cove, to receive the astronomical instruments which had been sent out by the Board of Longitude, for the purpose of observing the comet which was to be seen at the end of this year.

The Governor having also received instructions to establish a settlement at Norfolk Island, the Supply sailed for that place about the middle of February, having on board Lieute-

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nant King of the Sirius, named by Captain Phillip superintendant and commandant of the settlement to be formed there. Lieutenant King took with him one surgeon, one petty officer, two private soldiers, two persons who pretended to some knowledge in flax-dressing, and nine male and six female convicts, mostly volunteers. This little party was to be landed with tents, clothing for the convicts, implements of husbandry, tools for dressing flax, &c. and provisions for six months; before the expiration of which time it was designed to send them a fresh supply. To prevent repetitions, it may perhaps be best to unite, in this place, a description of the island.

Norfolk Island is about seven leagues in circumference, and if not originally formed, like many other small islands, by the eruption of Volcanic matter from the bed of the sea, must doubtless have contained a volcano. It is exceedingly well watered. At, or near Mount Pitt rises a strong and copious stream, which, flowing through a very fine valley, divides itself into several branches, each of which retains sufficient force to be used in turning mills: and in various parts of the island excellent springs have been discovered.

The island was one entire wood, or rather a garden overrun with the noblest pines, in straightness, size, and magnitude, far superior to any ever seen. Nothing can exceed the fertility of its soil, being a rich black mould, of the depth of five or six feet: and the grain and garden seeds which have been sown, such only excepted as were damaged in the carriage, or by the weevil, have vegetated with the utmost luxuriance.

The climate is pure, salubrious, and delightful, preserved from oppressive heats by constant breezes from the sea, and of so mild a temperature throughout the winter, that vegetation continues there without interruption, one crop succeeding another. Refreshing showers from time to time maintain perpetual verdure; not indeed of grass, for none has yet been seen upon the island, but of the trees, shrubs, and other vege-

tables which in all parts grow abundantly. On the leaves of these, and of some kinds in particular, the sheep, hogs, and goats, not only live, but thrive and fatten very much.

Fish are caught in great plenty, and in the proper season very fine turtle. The woods are inhabited by innumerable tribes of birds, many of them very gay in plumage. The most useful are pigeons, which are very numerous, and a bird not unlike the Guinea fowl, except in colour, (being chiefly white) both of which were at first so tame as to suffer themselves to be taken by the hand. Of plants that afford vegetables for the table, the chief are cabbage palm, the wild plantain, the fern tree, a kind of wild spinage, and a tree which produces a diminutive fruit, bearing some resemblance to a currant. But the productions which give the greatest importance to Norfolk Island are the pines and the flax plant, the former rising to a size and perfection unknown in other places, and promising the most valuable supply of masts and spars for our navy in the East Indies; the latter not less estimable for the purposes of making sail-cloth, cordage, and even the finest manufactures; growing in great plenty, and with such luxuriance as to attain the height of eight feet. The pines measure frequently one hundred and sixty, or even one hundred and eighty feet in height, and are sometimes nine or ten feet in diameter at the bottom of the trunk. They rise to about eighty feet without a branch; the wood is said to be of the best quality, almost as light as that of the best Norway masts; and the turpentine obtained from it is remarkable for purity and whiteness. The fern tree is found also of a great height for its species, measuring from seventy to eighty feet, and affords excellent food for the sheep and other small cattle. A plant producing pepper, and supposed to be the true oriental pepper, was discovered in the island, growing in great plenty; and specimens were been sent to England, in order to ascertain this important point.

The chief disadvantage experienced by those who were sent to Norfolk Island, was the want of a good landing place. The bay which was used for this purpose being inclosed by a reef of coral rock, through which there is a passage only for a boat ; and during the tide of flood, when the wind is westerly, the landing is rather dangerous.

It was natural to suppose that the curiosity of the natives of Botany Bay would be attracted by observing, that, instead of quitting, their visitors were occupied in works that indicated an intention of remaining in their country ; but during the first six weeks, only two came near them. These men strolled into the camp one evening, and remained in it for about half an hour. They appeared to admire whatever they saw, and, after receiving each a hatchet (of the use of which the eldest instantly and curiously shewed his knowledge, by turning up his foot and sharpening a piece of wood on the sole with the hatchet), took their leave, apparently well pleased with their reception. The fishing-boats also frequently reported their having been visited by many of these people when hauling the seine ; at which labour they often assisted with cheerfulness, and in return were generally rewarded with part of the fish taken.

Every precaution was used to guard against a breach of this friendly and desirable intercourse, by strictly prohibiting every person from depriving them of their spears, fozgigs, gum, or other articles, which it was soon perceived they were accustomed to leave under the rocks, or loose and scattered about upon the beaches.

There was, however, great reason to believe, that these precautions were first rendered fruitless by the ill conduct of a baat's crew belonging to one of the transports, who had attempted to land in one of the coves at the lower part of the harbour, but were prevented, and driven off with stones by the natives. A party of them, consisting of sixteen or eighteen persons, some time after landed on the island, where the peo-

ple of the *Sirius* were preparing a garden, and, with much artifice watching their opportunity, carried off a shovel, a spade, and a pick-axe. On their being fired at, and hit on the legs by one of the people with small shot, the pick-axe was dropped, but they carried off the other tools.

The weather during the latter end of January and the month of February was very close, with rain, at times very heavy, and attended with much thunder and lightning, by which some sheep, lambs, and pigs, were destroyed.

CHAP. V.

Broken Bay visited—M. de la Perouse sails—Wharf begun—Scurvy—Some Convicts wounded by the Natives—Rush Cutters killed—Cattle lost—Bad Conduct of the Convicts.

EARLY in March, the governor, accompanied by some officers, went by water to survey the harbour of Broken Bay; which proved equal in magnitude to Port Jackson, but the land in general was very high, and in most parts rocky and barren. The weather turned out very-unfavourable to this excursion in a country where the residence for each night was to be provided for by the travellers themselves; and some of the party returned with dysenteric complaints. The weather at Port Jackson had been equally adverse to labour; and the governor found, at his return, upwards of two hundred patients under the surgeon's care, in consequence of the heavy rains that had fallen. A building for the reception of the sick was now absolutely necessary, and one was put in hand, to be divided into a dispensary (all the hospital-stores being at that time under tents) a ward for the troops, and another for the convicts. The heavy rains also pointed out the necessity of sheltering the detachment; and until barracks could

be built, most of them covered their tents with thatch, or erected for themselves temporary clay huts. The barracks were begun early in March; but much difficulty was found in providing proper materials, the timber being in general shakey and rotten. They were to consist of four buildings, and were placed at a convenient distance from each other for the benefit of air and cleanliness, and with a space in the centre for a parade.

On or about the 10th of March, the French ships sailed from Botany Bay, bound, as they said, to the northward, and carrying with them the most unfavourable ideas of this country and its native inhabitants; the officers having declared, that in their whole voyage they nowhere found so poor a country, nor such a miserable people.

A wharf for the convenience of landing stores was begun, under the direction of the surveyor-general: the ordnance, consisting of two brass six-pounders on travelling carriages, four iron twelve-pounders, and two iron six-pounders, were landed; the transports, which were chartered for China, were cleared; the long-boats of the ships in the Cove were employed in bringing cabbage-tree from the lower part of the harbour, where it grew in great abundance, and was found, when cut into proper lengths, very fit for the purpose of erecting temporary huts; the posts and plates of which, being made of the pine of the country, and the sides and ends filled with lengths of the cabbage-tree, plastered over with clay, formed a very good hovel. The roofs were generally thatched with the grass of the gum-rush; some were covered with clay, but several of these failed, the weight of the clay and heavy rain soon destroying them.

It being now April, and the winter of this hemisphere approaching, it became necessary to expedite the buildings intended for the detachment. Every carpenter that could be procured among the convicts was sent to assist, and as many as could be hired from the transports were employed at the

hospital and storeroom. The long-boats still continued to bring up the cabbage-tree from the lower part of the harbour, and a range of huts was begun on the west side for some of the female convicts.

The little camp now began to wear the aspect of distress, from the great number of scorbutic patients that were daily seen creeping to and from the hospital tent; and the principal surgeon suggested the expediency of a supply of turtle from Lord Howe Island; but it was generally thought that the season was too far advanced, and that the utmost which could have been procured would have made but a very trifling and temporary change in the diet of those afflicted with the disorder.

About this time one of the convicts who, in searching for vegetables, had gone a considerable way from the camp, returned very dangerously wounded in the back. He said, that another man who had gone out for the same purpose, had been carried off by the natives in his sight, after having been wounded in the head. A shirt and hat were afterwards found, both pierced with spears, in one of the huts of the natives; but no intelligence of the man could be gained. There could be little doubt that the convicts had been the aggressors, though the man who returned strongly denied having given any kind of provocation.

On the thirtieth of May, two men who had been employed in collecting rushes for thatch at some distance from the camp, were found dead. One of them had four spears in his body, one of which had pierced entirely through it: the other had not any marks of violence upon him. In this case it was clearly proved that the first injury had been offered by the unfortunate men, who paid so dearly for their dishonesty and disobedience of orders; for they had been seen with a canoe, which they had taken from one of the fishing places. These events were much regretted by Governor Phillip, as tending entirely to the frustration of the plan he had so much at heart,

of conciliating the affections of the natives; and establishing a friendly intercourse with them.

No very good fortune had hitherto attended the live stock belonging to the settlement, but the heaviest blow was yet to come. About this time the two bulls and four cows, belonging to government, and to the governor, having been left for a time by the man who was appointed to attend them, strayed into the woods, and though they were traced to some distance, never could be recovered. This was a loss for some time irreparable.

Exemplary punishments seemed about this period to be growing daily more necessary. Stock was often killed, huts and tents broke open, and provision constantly stolen, particularly about the latter end of the week; as many of those unthrifty people, taking no care to husband their provisions through the seven days that they were intended to last them, had consumed the whole by the end of the third or fourth day. One of this description made his week's allowance of flour (eight pounds) into cakes, which he devoured at one meal; he was soon after taken speechless and senseless, and died the following day, a loathsome putrid object. James Bennett, a youth of seventeen years of age, was executed for breaking open and robbing a tent. An elderly woman, a convict, having been detected in stealing a flat iron, hung herself to the ridge-pole of her tent, but was fortunately discovered in time to preserve her life. What feeling could tempt her to this rash action it would be difficult to guess, as her being a convict too plainly proved that she could survive the loss of character.

From the nature of the materials with which most of the huts occupied by the convicts were covered in, several accidents happened by fire, whereby the labour of many people was lost; they again were obliged to seek a shelter for themselves, and had in general to complain of the destruction of provisions and clothing. To prevent this, an order was issued,

prohibiting the building of chimnies, in future, in such huts as were thatched.

Thefts still continued to be committed by and among the convicts. Wine was stolen from the hospital, and several persons were tried upon suspicion, but for want of sufficient evidence were acquitted. There was such a tenderness in these people to each other's guilt, such an acquaintance with vice and the different degrees of it, that, unless detected in the fact, it was next to impossible to bring an offence home to them.

CHAP. VI.

King's Birth-day—Supply returns to Norfolk Island—Heavy Rains—Sirius sent to the Cape of Good Hope—A Convict murdered—Settlement at Rose-hill—A Native taken—New Year's Day—Employment of the Convicts—The Supply sails for Norfolk Island—Convicts killed—Stores robbed—State of Norfolk Island—Mortality of the Small-pox among the Natives.

THE fourth of June was not suffered to pass without due celebration. It was a day of remission from labour, and of general festivity throughout the settlement. At sun-rise the Sirius and Supply fired each a salute of twenty-one guns, and again at one o'clock, when the marines on shore also saluted with three vollies. At sun-set the same honours were a third time repeated from the ships; large bonfires were lighted, and the whole camp afforded a scene of joy. That there might not be any exception to the happiness of this day, four convicts who had been reprieved from death, and banished to an island in the middle of the harbour, received a full pardon, and were sent for to bear their part in the general exultation. The Governor, in his letters, with that humanity which so strongly distinguishes his character, says, he trusts that on this day there was not a single heavy heart in this part

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of his Majesty's dominions. His own house was the centre of conviviality to all who could be admitted to that society, nor was any thing neglected which in such a situation could mark a day of celebrity, consistently with propriety and good order. Perhaps no birth-day was ever celebrated in more places, or more remote from each other, than that of his Majesty on this day.

On the 20th the Supply sailed with stores and provisions for Norfolk Island. Only two transports remained of the fleet that came out from England, the Golden Grove and Fishburn; and preparations were making for clearing and discharging them from Government service, by constructing a cellar on the west side for receiving the spirits, and depositing the provisions in the large store-house.

During the beginning of August much heavy rain fell, and not only prevented the carrying on of labour, but rendered the work of much time fruitless by its effects; the brick kiln fell in more than once, and bricks to a large amount were destroyed; the roads about the settlement were rendered impassable; and some of the huts were so far injured as to require nearly as much time to repair them as to build them anew. It was not until the 14th of the month, when the weather cleared up, that the people were again able to work. There were at this time in hand barracks for the marine detachment, an observatory, the houses erecting for the governor and lieutenant-governor, and the shingling of the hospital.

September commenced, and the seed-wheat which had been sown here not turning out well, there was reason to apprehend a failure of seed for the next year. The Governor therefore, early in this month, signified his intention of sending the Sirius to the Cape of Good Hope, to procure a sufficient quantity of grain for that purpose; together with as much flour for the settlement as she could stow, after laying in a twelvemonth's provisions for her ship's company.

On the 30th one midshipman and two seamen from the Sirius, one serjeant, one corporal, and five private marines,

and twenty-one male and eleven female convicts, embarked on board the *Golden Grove* for Norfolk Island, and with the *Sirius* sailed on the 2d of October.

The detachment finding it convenient to collect vegetables, and being obliged to go for them as far as Botany Bay, the convicts were ordered to avail themselves of the protection of an armed party, and never on any account to straggle from the soldiers, or go to Botany Bay without them, on pain of severe punishment. Notwithstanding which, a convict, who had been looked upon as a good man, having gone out with an armed party to procure vegetables at Botany Bay, straggled from them, and was killed by the natives. On the return of the soldiers from the bay he was found lying dead in the path, his head beaten to a jelly, a spear driven through it, another through his body, and one arm broken. Some people were sent out to bury him; and in the course of the month the parties who went by the spot for vegetables reported that his body was three times found above ground, having, it was supposed, been torn up by the natives's dogs.

On the departure of the *Sirius*, one pound of flour was deducted from the weekly ration of those who received the full proportion, and two-thirds of a pound from such as were at two-thirds allowance. The public works went on, as usual, very slowly; those employed on them in general barely exerting themselves beyond what was necessary to avoid immediate punishment for idleness.

In the course of this month a launch, or hoy, capable of conveying provisions to Rose Hill and other places, was constructed from the timber of the country; a landing-place was formed on the east side of the Cove; and at the point on the west side, a magazine was marked out, to be constructed of stone; and large enough to contain fifty or sixty barrels of powder.

It being observed with concern, that the natives were every day becoming more troublesome and hostile, several people having been wounded, and others, who were necessarily em-

ployed in the woods, driven in and much alarmed by them, the Governor determined on endeavouring to seize, and bring into the settlement, one or two of these people, whose language it was become absolutely necessary to acquire, that they might be taught to distinguish friends from enemies. Accordingly, on the 30th, a young man was taken and brought in by Lieutenant Ball of the Supply, and Lieutenant George Johnson, of the marines. A second was seized; but, after dragging into the water beyond his depth the man who held him, he got clear off. The native who had been secured was on his landing conveyed to the Governor's, where he was clothed, a slight iron or manacle put upon his wrist, and a trusty convict appointed to take care of him. A small hut had been previously built for his reception close to the guard-house, wherein he and his keeper were locked up at night; and the following morning the convict reported, that his charge had slept very well during the night, not offering to make any attempt to get away.

The first day of the new year (January 1789) was marked as a holiday by a suspension of all kinds of labour, and by hoisting of colours at the fort. The ration of provisions, though still less by a pound of flour than the proper allowance, was yet so sufficient as not to be complained of; nor was labour diminished by it. Upon a calculation of the different people employed for the public in cultivation, it appeared, that of all the numbers in the colony there were only two hundred and fifty so employed:—a very small number indeed to procure the means of rendering the colony independent of the mother-country for the necessaries of life. The rest were occupied in carrying on various public works, such as stores, houses, wharfs, &c. A large number were incapable, through age or infirmities, of being called to labour; and the civil establishment, the military, females, and children, filled up the catalogue of those unassisting in cultivation.

The soil immediately about the settlement was found to be of too sandy a nature to give much promise of yielding a suf-

ficient produce even for the small quantity of stock that it possessed. At Rose Hill the prospect was better; indeed, whatever expectation could be formed of successful cultivation in the country, rested as yet in that quarter.

The Supply sailed for Norfolk Island on the 17th, having on board twenty-one male and six female convicts, and three children; of the latter, two were to be placed under Mr King's care as children of the public. The one, a boy of three years old, had lost his mother on the passage to that country; the other, a girl one year older, had a mother in the colony, but of so very abandoned a character, that the child was taken from her in the hope of saving it from the ruin which was otherwise inevitable. These children were to be instructed in reading, writing, and husbandry. The commandant of the island was directed to cause five acres of ground to be allotted and cultivated for their benefit, by such person as he should think fit to entrust with the charge of bringing them up according to the spirit of this intention, in promoting the success of which every friend of humanity seemed to feel an interest.

Very little molestation was at this time given by the natives; and had they never been ill treated by the inhabitants, instead of hostility, it is more than probable that an intercourse of friendship would have subsisted.

A convict, disregarding both orders and dangers, went in search of herbs, and was killed by the natives. A few days after this accident a party of the convicts, sixteen in number, chiefly belonging to the brick-maker's gang, as had also the unfortunate straggler, provided themselves with stakes, and set off toward Botany Bay, with a determination to revenge, upon whatever natives they should meet, the treatment which one of their brethren had received. Near Botany Bay they fell in with the natives, but in a larger body than they expected or desired. According to their report, they were fifty in number; but much dependence was not to be placed on what they said in this respect, nor in their narrative of the af-

fair; it is certain, however, they were driven in by the natives, who killed one man and wounded six others. On this being known in the settlement, an armed party was sent out with an officer, who found the body of the murdered man stripped, and lying in the path. They also found a boy, who had likewise been stripped and left for dead by the natives; he was very much wounded, and his left ear nearly cut off. The party returned bearing in the boy, but without seeing any of the perpetrators of this mischief: the other wounded people had reached the settlement. The Governor, judging it highly necessary to make examples of these misguided people, who had so daringly and flagrantly broken through every order which had been given to prevent their interfering with the natives as to form a party expressly to meet with and attack them, directed that those who were not wounded should receive each one hundred and fifty lashes, and wear a fetter for a twelvemonth; the like punishment was directed to be inflicted upon those who were in the hospital, as soon as they should recover from their wounds.

The same day two armed parties were sent, one towards Botany Bay, and the other in a different direction, that the natives might see that their late act of violence would neither intimidate nor prevent the English from moving beyond the settlement whenever occasion required.

Such were their enemies abroad: at home, within themselves, they had enemies to encounter of a different nature, but in their effects more difficult to guard against. The gardens and houses of individuals, and the provision store, were over-run with rats. The safety of the provisions was an object of general importance, and the Commissary was for some time employed in examining into the state of the store. By his diligence it was discovered that a soldier, named Hunt, had robbed it. Being admitted an evidence on the part of the crown, six soldiers, whom he accused, were taken up and tried; when the evidence of the accomplice being confirmed by several strong corroborating circumstances,

(among which it appeared that the store had been broken into and robbed by them at various times for upwards of eight months), they were unanimously found guilty, and sentenced to suffer that death which they acknowledged they had justly merited.

While these transactions were passing at Sydney, the little colony at Norfolk Island had been threatened with an insurrection. The Supply returned from thence on the 24th, after an absence of five weeks, and brought from Lieutenant King, the commandant, information of a chimerical scheme for the capture of the island, and the subsequent escape of the captors, but it was fortunately revealed to a seaman belonging to the *Sirius*, who lived with Mr King as a gardener, by a female convict that cohabited with him.

On Thursday the 26th of February, the island was visited by a hurricane, which came on early in the morning in very heavy gales of wind and rain. Several pines of one hundred and eighty and two hundred feet in length, and from twenty to thirty feet in circumference, were blown down. The gale had increased by noon to a dreadful degree, with torrents of heavy rain. Every instant pines and live oaks, of the largest dimensions, were borne down by the fury of the blast, which, tearing up roots and rocks with them, left chasms of eight or ten feet deep in the earth. Nothing but horror and desolation every where presented itself. The storm raged with the utmost violence; and by one o'clock there were as many trees torn up by the roots as would have required the labour of fifty men for a fortnight to have felled. Early in the afternoon the Swamp and Vale were overflowed, and had every appearance of a large navigable river. The gardens, public and private, were wholly destroyed; cabbages, turnips, and other plants, were blown out of the ground; and those which withstood the hurricane seemed as if they had been scorched.

Early in the month of April, and throughout its continuance, the people whose business called them down the harbour daily reported, that they found, either in excavations of

the rocks, or lying upon the beaches and points of the different coves, the bodies of many of the wretched natives of the country. The cause of this mortality remained unknown, until a family was brought into the settlement and the disorder pronounced to have been the small-pox. It was not a desirable circumstance to introduce a disorder into the colony which was raging with such fatal violence among the natives of the country; but the saving the lives of any of these people was an object of no small importance, as the knowledge of our humanity and the benefits which might be rendered them, would, it was hoped, do away the evil impressions which they had received. Two elderly men, a boy, and a girl, were received, and placed in a separate hut at the hospital. The men were too far overcome by the disease to derive any benefit from the exertions of the medical gentlemen who attended them; but the children did well. From the native who resided in the settlement it was understood that many families had been swept off by this scourge of the human race; and that others, to avoid it, had fled into the interior parts of the country. Whether it had ever appeared among them before, could not be discovered; but it was certain that they gave it a name (gal-gal-la); a circumstance which seemed to indicate a pre-acquaintance with it.

It had been greatly feared, from the first introduction of the boy and girl into the settlement, that the native who had been some time there, and whose attention to them during their illness excited the admiration of every one that witnessed it, would take the disorder; as on his person were found none of those traces of its ravages which are frequently left behind. It happened as had been predicted; he fell a victim to the disease in eight days after he was seized with it, to the infinite regret of every one who had witnessed how little of the savage was found in his manner, and how quickly he was substituting in its place a docile, affable, and truly amiable deportment.

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CHAP. VII.

Description of Port Jackson—The Governor makes an Excursion—Hawkesbury River discovered—The Sirius returns from the Cape of Good Hope—Intelligence from Norfolk Island—Police established—Successful haul of Fish—Ration of Provisions reduced—Mr Hill lost—Reinforcement sent to Norfolk Island.

THE Governor pronounced Port Jackson to be a harbour, in extent and security, superior to any he had ever seen; and the most experienced navigators who were with him fully concurred in that opinion. From an entrance not more than two miles across, Port Jackson gradually extends in a noble and capacious basin, having soundings sufficient for the largest vessels, and space to accommodate, in perfect security, any number that could be assembled. It runs chiefly in a western direction, about thirteen miles into the country, and contains not less than an hundred small coves, formed by narrow necks of land, whose projections afford admirable shelter from all winds. Sydney Cove lies on the south side of the harbour, between five and six miles from the entrance. The necks of land that form the coves are mostly covered with timber, yet so rocky that it is not easy to comprehend how the trees could have found sufficient nourishment to bring them to so considerable a magnitude; but the soil between the rocks is very good, and into those spaces the principal roots have found their way. The soil in other parts of the coast immediately about Port Jackson is of various qualities.

There are few things more pleasing than the contemplation of order and useful arrangement, arising gradually out of tumult and confusion; and perhaps this satisfaction cannot any where be more fully enjoyed than where a settlement of civilized people is fixing itself upon a newly discovered or savage coast. The wild appearance of land entirely untouched by cultivation, the close and perplexed growing of trees, inter-

rupted now and then by barren spots, bare rocks, or spaces overgrown with weeds, flowers, flowering shrubs, or under-wood, scattered and intermingled in the most promiscuous manner, are the first objects that present themselves; afterwards, the irregular placing of the first tents which are pitched, or huts which are erected for immediate accommodation, wherever chance presents a spot tolerably free from obstacles, or more easily cleared than the rest, with the bustle of various hands busily employed in a number of the most incongruous works, increases rather than diminishes the disorder, and produces a confusion of effect, which for a time appears inextricable, and seems to threaten an endless continuance of perplexity. But by degrees large spaces are opened, plans are formed, lines marked, and a prospect at least of future regularity is clearly discerned, and is made the more striking by the recollection of the former confusion.

Sydney Cove lies open to the north-east, and is continued in a south-west direction for near a thousand yards, gradually decreasing from the breadth of about one thousand four hundred feet, till it terminates in a point, where it receives a small stream of fresh water. The anchorage extends about two thousand feet up the cove, and has soundings in general of four fathoms near the shore, and five, six, or seven, nearer the middle of the channel. It is perfectly secure in all winds; and for a considerable way up on both sides, ships can lie almost close to the shore: nor are there, in any part of it, rocks or shallows to render the navigation dangerous. Such a situation could not fail to appear desirable to a discerning man, whose object it was to establish a settlement, which he knew must for some time depend for support on the importation of the principal necessities of life.

On the 6th of June the Governor set off with a party on a second excursion to Broken Bay, in the hope of being able, from the head of that harbour, to reach the mountains inland. His Excellency returned to the settlement on the evening of the 16th, having discovered a capacious fresh-water river

emptying itself into Broken Bay, and extending to the westward. He was compelled to return without tracing it to its source, not having a sufficient quantity of provisions with him; but immediately made the necessary preparations for going back to finish his examination of it; and set off on that design with an increased party, and provisions for twenty-one days, on Monday the 29th.

On the 14th of July the Governor returned from his second visit to the river, which he named the Hawkesbury, in honour of the noble lord of that name. He traced the river a considerable distance to the westward, and was impeded in his farther progress by a shallow which he met with a short distance above the hill formerly seen, and then named by him Richmond Hill, to the foot of which the course of the Hawkesbury conducted him and his party. They were deterred from remaining any time in the narrow part of the river, as they perceived evident traces of the freshes having risen to the height of from twenty to forty feet above the level of the water. They represented the windings of the river as beautiful and picturesque, and toward Richmond Hill the face of the country appeared more level and open than in any other part. The vast inundations, which had left such tokens behind them of the height to which they swell the river, seemed rather unfavourable to the purpose of settling near the banks, which otherwise would have been convenient and desirable, the advantages attending the occupation of an allotment of land on the margin of a fresh-water river being superior to those of any other situation. The soil on the banks of the river was judged to be light; what it was farther inland could not be determined with any certainty, as the travellers did not penetrate to any distance, except at Richmond Hill, where the soil appeared to be less mixed with sand than that on the branches.

The Sirius having returned from the Cape of Good Hope, after an absence of seven months and six days, brought one hundred and twenty-seven thousand weight of flour for the settlement, and a twelvemonth's provisions for her ship's

company ; but this supply was not very flattering, as the short space of four months, at a full ration, would exhaust it. It was, however, very welcome, and her return seemed to have gladdened every heart. Eager were their inquiries after intelligence from that country from which they had now been two years divided, and to whose transactions they had during that time been entire strangers.

From Norfolk Island Lieutenant King wrote, that he had cleared seventeen acres of ground upon the public account, all of which were either sown or ready for sowing; that caterpillars had done much damage to some wheat which had just come up; and that he was erecting a store-house capable of containing a large quantity of stores and provisions, besides having made a visible road from Sydney Bay to Cascade Bay. The pine trees, of the utility of which such sanguine hopes had been entertained, were found to be unfit for large masts and yards, being shakey or rotten at thirty or forty feet from the butt; the wood was so brittle that it would not make a good oar, and so porous that the water soaked through the planks of a boat which had been built of it. Mr King also lamented their ignorance of the proper mode of preparing the flax plant, which rendered it useless to them. He spoke well of the general behaviour of the subjects of his little government since the detection of their late scheme to overturn it.

From the frequent commission of offences in this settlement and at Rose Hill, a favourable report could not be given of the conduct of the convicts; it appeared absolutely necessary to devise some plan which might put a stop to their nightly enormities; and the first attempt toward a police was commenced by establishing a night-watch.

On the 4th of September the people belonging to the Supply had a very large haul of fish; their seine was so full, that had they hauled it on shore it must have burst; the ropes of it were therefore made fast on shore, and the seine was suffered to lie until it was left dry by the tide. The fish were brought up to the settlement and distributed among the

military and convicts. A night or two after this, a fishing-boat caught about one hundred dozen of small fish; but this was precarious, and, happening after the provision, were served, no other advantage could be derived from the circumstance, than that of every man's having a fish meal.

On the 12th, the butter, which had been served at six ounces per week to each man in the settlement, being expended, the like quantity of sugar was directed to be issued in its stead. This was the first of the provisions brought from England which had wholly failed; and, fortunately, the failure was in an article which could be the best spared. It never had been very good, and was not, strictly speaking, a necessary of life.

The month of November opened with a serious, but prudent and necessary alteration in the provisions. The ration which had hitherto been issued was, on the first of the month, reduced to two-thirds of every species; spirits excepted, which continued as usual. This measure was calculated to guard against accidents; and the necessity of it was obvious to every one, from the great uncertainty as to the time when a supply might arrive from England, and from the losses which had been and still were occasioned by rats. Two years' provisions were landed with them in the colony: they had been within two months of that time disembarked; and the public store had been aided only by a small surplus of the provisions which remained of what had been furnished by the contractor for the passage, and the supply of four months flour which had been received by the Sirius from the Cape of Good Hope. All this did not produce such an abundance as would justify any longer continuance of the full ration; and, although it was reasonable to suppose, as they had not hitherto received any supplies, that ships would arrive before their present stock was exhausted; yet, if the period of the distress should ever arrive, the consciousness that they had early foreseen and strove to guard against it would certainly soften the bitterness of their reflections; and, guarding thus against the

worst, that worst providentially might never happen. The Governor, whose humanity was at all times conspicuous, directed that no alteration should be made in the ration to be issued to the women. They were already upon two-thirds of the man's allowance; and many of them either had children who could very well have eaten their own and part of the mother's ration, or they had children at the breast; and although they did not labour, yet their appetites were never so delicate as to have found the full ration too much, had it been issued to them. The ships' companies of the *Sirius* and *Supply* suffered the same reduction.

On the 7th, Captain Hunter brought the *Sirius* from an adjoining cove completely repaired, and in every respect fit for sea. Previous to her quitting the careening cove, Mr Hill, one of the master's mates, having had some business at Sydney, was landed on his return early in the morning on the north shore, opposite Sydney Cove, from which the walk to the ship was short; but he was never afterwards heard of. Parties were sent day after day in quest of him. Guns were fired from the *Sirius* every four hours, night and day, but without effect. He had met with some fatal accident, which deprived a wife of the pleasurable prospect of ever seeing him return to her and to his friends. He had once before missed his way; and it was reported, when his loss was confirmed, that he declared on the fatal morning, when stepping out of the boat, that he expected to lose himself again for a day or two. His conjecture was more than confirmed; he lost himself for ever, and thus added one to the number of those unfortunate persons who had perished in the woods of this country.

On the 11th, the *Supply* sailed for Norfolk Island, having on board fourteen male and female convicts for that colony. She was to stop at Lord Howe Island, to endeavour to procure turtle for this settlement; a supply of which, in its present situation, would have been welcomed, not as a luxury, but as a necessary of life.

CHAP. VIII.

Two Natives taken—Supply returns from Norfolk Island, and sails again—Prospect from Fishing—A large Detachment sent to Norfolk Island—Scarcity of Provisions—Sirius lost—Rations further reduced—Supply sent to Batavia for relief—Transactions in the Colony—The *Lady Juliana* transport arrives from England—The *Guardian* lost—The *Justinian* arrives—Full Ration ordered.

THE Governor, after the death of the native who was carried off by the small-pox, never had lost sight of a determination to procure another with the first favourable opportunity. A boat had several times gone down the harbour for that purpose; but without succeeding, until the 25th of this month, when the first lieutenant of the *Sirius*, accompanied by the master, fortunately secured two natives, both men, and took them up to the settlement. Being well known to the children, through their means every assurance was given them of their perfect safety. They were taken up to the Governor's, the place intended for their future residence, where such restraint was laid upon their persons as was judged requisite for their security.

The assurances of safety which were given them, and the steps which were taken to keep them in a state of security, were not perfectly satisfactory to the elder of the two; and he secretly determined to take the first opportunity that offered of giving his attendants no farther trouble upon his account. The negligence of his keeper very soon gave him the opportunity that he desired; and he made his escape, taking with him into the woods the fetter which had been rivetted to his leg, and which every one who knew the circumstance imagined he would never be able to remove. His companion would have joined him in his flight, but fear detained him a

few minutes too late, and he was seized while tremblingly alive to the joyful prospect of escaping.

In the course of November the harvest was got in; the ground in cultivation at Rose Hill produced upwards of two hundred bushels of wheat, about thirty-five bushels of barley, and a small quantity of oats and Indian corn; all of which was intended to be reserved for seed. At Sydney, the spot of ground called the Governor's Farm had been sown only with barley, and produced about twenty-five bushels.

On the 21st of December, the Supply returned from Norfolk Island, having been absent six weeks. Lieutenant King wrote, that he expected his harvest would produce from four to six months' flour for all his inhabitants, exclusive of a reserve of double seed for twenty acres of ground. Besides this promising appearances he had ten acres in cultivation, with Indian corn, which looked very well. Early in January, 1790, the Supply sailed again for Norfolk Island, with twenty-two male and two female convicts: on her return she was to touch at Lord Howe Island to procure turtle.

A sufficient quantity of fish having been taken in one night to admit the serving of two pounds to each man, woman, and child, belonging to the settlement, the Governor directed, that a boat should in future be employed three times in the week to fish for the public, and that the whole quantity caught should be issued at the above rate to every person in turn. This allowance was in addition to the ration of provisions; and was received with much satisfaction several times during the month.

The first signal from the flag-staff at the south head was displayed on the 10th of February; and though every imagination first turned to the expected stranger, yet happening about the time at which the Supply was expected from Norfolk Island, conjecture soon fixed on the right object; and the temporary suspense was put an end to, by word being brought that the Supply, unable to get into Port Jackson, had borne up for Botany Bay, in which harbour she anchored in the

dusk of the evening. By her Lieutenant King wrote, that his people continued healthy, and his settlement went on well. The wheat had turned out twenty fold, notwithstanding it had much dry weather. He stated, that the convicts under his orders had in general very good gardens, and that many of them would have a very large produce of Indian corn.

In consequence of the flourishing state of Norfolk Island, the Governor determined to ease his settlement during the existing scarcity, by sending thither a large detachment. The month of February passed in the arrangements and preparations requisite on the occasion, to which the weather was extremely unfavourable; heavy rains, with gales of wind, prevailing nearly the whole time. The rain came down in torrents, filling up every trench and cavity which had been dug about the settlement, and causing much damage to the miserable mud tenements which were occupied by the convicts; yet, bad as the weather was, several gardens were robbed, and, as at this time they abounded with melons and pumpkins, these became the objects of depredation in common with other productions of the garden. Great quantities of the stock was also killed, which the Governor endeavoured to prevent; but an opinion being entertained by the convicts that the owners would ultimately be deprived of the benefits which might result from their stock, nearly the whole was destroyed in the course of a few nights. A wound being thereby given to the independence of the colony, which could not easily be salved, and whose injurious effects time and much attention alone could remove.

On the 3d of March, the two companies of marines with their officers and the colours of the corps embarked on board the *Sirius* and the *Supply*. With them also embarked Major Ross, (who was appointed Lieutenant-governor of Norfolk Island), and the senior assistant-surgeon of the settlement. On the day following, 116 male and 68 female convicts, with 27 children, in all 281 persons, were sent on board; and on the 5th both the ships left the Cove.

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With the first of April the reduced ration, and the change in the working hours, commenced; much time was not consumed at the store, and the people went away to dress the scanty allowance which they had received. Attention to religious duties was never omitted, and divine service was performed on the morning of Good Friday; when the convicts were recommended to employ the remainder of it in working in their gardens. But, notwithstanding the evident necessity that existed for every man's endeavouring to assist himself, very few were observed to be so profitably occupied.

At this time the Supply returned from Norfolk Island, with an account of a disaster which depressed even the unthinking part of the inhabitants, and occasioned universal dismay. A load of accumulated evils seemed bursting upon their heads. The ships that had so long been expected with supplies were still anxiously looked for; and the Sirius, which was to have gone in quest of relief to their distresses, was lost upon the reef at Norfolk Island, on the 19th of the preceding month. The general melancholy which prevailed in the settlement when the above unwelcome intelligence was made public, need not be described; and when the Supply came to an anchor in the cove every one looked up to her as to their only remaining hope.

In this exigency, the Governor thought it necessary to assemble all the officers of the settlement, civil and military, to determine on what measures were necessary to be adopted. At this meeting, when the situation of the colony was thoroughly weighed and placed in every point of view, it was determined to reduce still lower what was already too low; the ration was to be no more than two pounds and a half of flour, two pounds of pork, one pint of peas, and one pound of rice, for each person for seven days. Was this a ration for a labouring man? The two pounds of pork, when boiled, from the length of time that it had been in store, shrunk away to nearly nothing; and, when divided, barely afforded three or four morsels.

The Governor, from a motive that did him immortal honour, in this season of general distress, gave up three hundred weight of flour which was his Excellency's private property ; declaring, that he wished not to see any more at his table than the ration which was received in common from the public store, without any distinction of persons. He also employed all the boats in fishing, and several people to kill for the public such animals as the country afforded. But little advantage was derived from either of these schemes ; and as the necessity for procuring relief became every day more pressing, the Governor determined on sending the Supply armed tender to Batavia ; and, as her commander was most zealously active in his preparations for the voyage, she was soon ready for sea. Her tonnage, however, was trifling, when compared with their necessities. Lieutenant Ball was therefore directed to procure a supply of eight months' provisions for himself, and to hire a vessel and purchase 200,000 pounds of flour, 80,000 pounds of beef, 60,000 pounds of pork, and 70,000 pounds of rice ; together with some necessaries for the hospital.

On the 17th of April the Supply sailed, having on board Lieutenant King, the late commandant of Norfolk Island, who was charged with the Governor's dispatches for the Secretary of State, and Mr Miller, the late Commissary, whose ill state of health obliged him to quit the country. Mr Palmer, the purser of the Sirius, was appointed in his place.

It was naturally expected that the miserable allowance which was issued would affect the healths of the labouring convicts. A circumstance occurred in the month of May which seemed to favour this idea ; an elderly man dropped down at the store. Fainting with hunger, and unable through age to hold up any longer, he was carried to the hospital, where he died the next morning. On being opened, his stomach was found quite empty.

The native who had been taken in November convinced his captors how far before every other consideration he deem-

ed the possession of his liberty, by very artfully effecting his escape from the Governor's house, where he had been treated with every indulgence, and had enjoyed every comfort which it was in his Excellency's power to give him. He managed his escape so ingeniously, that it was not suspected until he had completed it, and all search was rendered fruitless. The boy and the girl appeared to remain perfectly contented among them, but declared that they knew their countryman would never return.

On June 8d, about half past three in the afternoon, to the inexpressible satisfaction of every heart in the settlement, the long-looked-for signal was made for a ship at the South Head. Every countenance was instantly cheered, and wore the lively expressions of eagerness, joy, and anxiety; the whole settlement was in motion and confusion. Notwithstanding it blew very strong at the time, the Governor's secretary, accompanied by two other gentlemen, immediately went off, and at some risk (for a heavy sea was running in the harbour's mouth) reached the ship for which the signal had been made just in time to give directions which placed her in safety in Spring Cove. She proved to be the *Lady Juliana* transport from London, last from Plymouth; from which latter place they learned, with no small degree of wonder and mortification, that she sailed on the 29th of July (full ten months before) with two hundred and twenty-two female convicts on board.

They had long conjectured, that the non-arrival of supplies must be owing either to accident or delays in the voyage, and not to any backwardness on the part of government in sending them out. They now found that their disappointment was to be ascribed to both misfortune and delay. The *Lady Juliana*, it has been seen, sailed in July, and in the month of September following his Majesty's ship *Guardian*, of forty-four guns, commanded by Lieutenant Edward Rieu, sailed from England, having on board (with what was in the *Lady Juliana*) two years' provisions for the settlement; a supply of

clothing for the marines; together with a large quantity of blankets and bedding for the hospital; and a large supply of unmade clothing for the convicts; with an ample assortment of tools and implements of agriculture. At the Cape of Good Hope Lieutenant Riou took on board a quantity of stock for the settlement, and completed a garden which had been prepared under the immediate inspection of Sir Joseph Banks, and in which there were one hundred and fifty of the finest fruit trees, several of them bearing fruit. There was scarcely an officer in the colony that had not his share of private property embarked on board of this richly-freighted ship.

But how painful was it to the starving settlers to learn, that on the 23d day of December preceeding, the *Guardian* struck against an island of ice in latitude 45 deg. 44 min. south, and longitude 41 deg. 30 min. east, whereby she received so much injury, that Lieutenant Riou was compelled, in order to save her from instantly sinking, to throw overboard the greatest part of her valuable cargo, both on the public and private account.

When Lieut. Edgar with the *Juliana*, arrived at the Cape, he found the *Guardian* lying there, Lieut. Riou having just safely regained that port, from which he had sailed but a short time before, with every fair prospect of speedily and happily executing the orders with which he was entrusted, and of conveying to the colony the assistance of which it stood so much in need. Unhappily for them, she was now lying a wreck, with difficulty, and at an immense expence, preserved from sinking at her anchors.

One-third of the stores and provisions intended for the colony were put on board the transport, the remaining two-thirds were on board the *Guardian*. In addition to the above distressing circumstance, they learned that one thousand convicts were to sail at the latter end of the last year. The joy which had been diffused by the arrival of the transport was considerably checked by the variety of unpleasant and unwelcome intelligence which she conveyed.

On the 6th, preparations were made for landing the convicts from the *Lady Juliana*; but in the distressed situation of the colony, it was not a little mortifying to find on board the first ship that arrived, a cargo so unnecessary and unprofitable as two hundred and twenty-two females, instead of a cargo of provisions; the most of them, however, appeared in good health, and to have been well treated during their long passage. The supply of provisions on board her was so inconsiderable as to permit only an addition of one pound and a half of flour being made in the weekly ration. Had the *Guardian* arrived, probably the settlement would never more have experienced want.

When the women landed on the 11th, many of them appeared to be loaded with the infirmities incident to old age, and to be very improper subjects for any of the purposes of an infant colony. Instead of being capable of labour, they seemed to require attendance themselves, and were never likely to be any other than a burthen to the settlement, which must sensibly feel the hardship of having to support by the labour of those who could toil, and who at the best were but few, a description of people utterly incapable of using exertion toward their own maintenance. Much of the flour, when disembarked, was found totally destroyed, which was considered, in the present situation of the colony, a serious loss. On the 20th, however, the colony was restored to comfort, by the arrival of the *Justinian* storeship, from England, after a short passage of only five months, by which they learned that three transports might be hourly expected, having on board the thousand convicts of whom they had before heard, together with detachments of a corps raised for the service of this country.

On the day following the arrival of the *Justinian*, every thing seemed getting into its former train; the full ration was ordered to be issued; instead of daily, it was to be served weekly as formerly; and the drum for labour was to beat as usual in the afternoons at one o'clock. How general was the

wish that no future necessity might ever occasion another reduction of the ration, or an alteration in the labour of the people !

A shop was opened on shore by the master of this ship at a hut lately occupied as a bakehouse for the Supply, for the sale of some articles of grocery, glass, millinery, perfumery, and stationary ; but the risk of bringing them out having been most injudiciously estimated too highly, as was evident from the increase on the first cost, which could not be disguised, they did not go off so quickly as the owners supposed they would.

CHAP. IX.

Three Transports arrive—Horrid State of the Transports on Board—Mortality and Number of Sick—A Party sent to Rose Hill—Grants of Land—The Governor wounded by a Native—Intercourse opened with the Natives—Convicts abscond with a boat—Visit from the Natives—Supply returns from Batavia—Differences with the Natives.

EARLY on the morning of the 23d, a sail to the northward was discerned from the look-out ; but the weather coming on thick, it was soon lost sight of. The bad weather continuing, it was not seen again until the 25th, when word was carried to the settlement, that a large ship, apparently under jury-masts, was seen in the offing ; and, on the following day, the Surprise transport anchored in the cove from England, having on board, including officers and men, thirty of the New South Wales corps ; together with two hundred and eighteen convicts. She sailed on the 19th of January from Portsmouth, in company with two other transports, with whom she parted between the Cape of Good Hope and Port Jackson.

They had the mortification to learn, that the prisoners in this ship were very unhealthy, upwards of one hundred being at that time on the sick list on board. They had been very

sickly also during the passage, and had buried forty-two of these unfortunate people. A portable hospital had most fortunately been received by the Justinian, and there now appeared but too great a probability that they soon would have patients enough to fill it ; for the signal was flying at the South head for the other transports, and they were expected to be in as unhealthy a state as that which had just arrived.

On the evening of the 26th the Neptune and Scarborough transports anchored off Garden Island, and were warped into the Cove on the following morning. Nor were they mistaken in their fears of the state in which they might arrive, as by noon the following day, two hundred sick had been landed from the different transports. The west side afforded a scene truly distressing and miserable ; upwards of thirty tents were pitched in front of the hospital (the portable one not being yet put up) ; all of which, as well as the adjacent huts, were filled with people, many of whom were labouring under the complicated diseases of scurvy and the dysentery, and others in the last stage of either of those terrible disorders, or yielding to the attacks of an infectious fever.

The appearance of those who did not require medical assistance was lean and emaciated. Several of these miserable people died in the boats as they were rowing on shore, or on the wharf as they were lifted out of the boats ; both the living and the dead exhibited more horrid spectacles than had ever been witnessed in that country. All this was to be attributed to confinement, and of the worst species, confinement in a small space, and in irons, not put on singly, but many of them chained together. On board the Scarborough a plan had been formed to take the ship, which would certainly have been attempted, but for a discovery which was fortunately made by one of the convicts who had too much principle to enter into it. This necessarily, on board that ship, occasioned much future circumspection ; but Captain Marshall's humanity considerably lessened the severity which the insurgents might naturally have expected. On board the other

ships, the masters, who had the entire direction of the prisoners, never suffered them to be at large on deck, and but few at a time were permitted there. This consequently gave birth to many diseases. It was said that on board the *Nep-tune* several had died in irons ; and what added to the horror of such a circumstance was, that their deaths were concealed, for the purpose of sharing their allowance of provisions, until chance, and the offensiveness of a corpse, directed the surgeon, or some one who had authority in the ship, to the spot where it lay.

A contract had been entered into by government with Messrs Calvert, Camden, and King, merchants, of London, for the transporting of one thousand convicts, and government engaged to pay 17*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* per head for every convict they embarked. This sum being as well for their provisions as for their transportation, no interest for their preservation was created in the owners, and the dead were more profitable (if profit alone was consulted by them, and the credit of their house was not at stake) than the living.

The total number of sick on the last day of June was three hundred and forty-nine. The melancholy which closed this month appeared unchanged in the beginning of July. The morning generally opened with depositing in the burying-ground the miserable victims of the night. Every exertion was made to get up the portable hospital ; but, notwithstanding they had been assured that it had been put up in London in a very few hours, they could not complete it until the 7th, when it was instantly filled with patients. On the 13th, there were four hundred and eighty-eight persons under medical treatment, at and about the hospital—a dreadful sick list !

Such of the convicts from the ships as were in a tolerable state of health were sent to Rose Hill, to be employed in agricultural and other labour. A subaltern's detachment from the New South Wales corps was at the same time sent there to assist the marine corps in performing the military duty.

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- * There also the Governor in the course of the month laid down the lines for a regular town. The principal street was marked out to extend one mile, commencing near the landing-place, and running in a direction west, to the foot of the rising ground named Rose Hill, on which his Excellency purposed to erect a small house for his own residence whenever he should visit that settlement. On each side of this street, whose width was to be two hundred and five feet, huts were to be erected capable of containing ten persons each, and at the distance of sixty feet from each other; and garden ground for each hut was allotted in the rear. As the huts were to be built of such combustible materials as wattles and plaster, and to be covered with thatch, the width of the street, and the distance that they were placed from each other, operated as an useful precaution against fire; and by beginning on so wide a scale the inhabitants of the town at some future day would possess their own accommodations and comforts more readily, each upon his own allotment, than if crowded into a smaller space.

The Governor had by these ships dispatches from the Secretary of State, containing, among other articles of information, instructions respecting the granting of lands and the allotting of ground in townships. Soon after their arrival it was declared in public orders:—

That, in consequence of the assurances that were given to the non-commissioned officers and men belonging to the detachment of marines, on their embarking for New South Wales (that such of them as should behave well should be allowed to quit the service on their return to England, or be discharged abroad upon the relief, and permitted to settle in that country), his Majesty had been graciously pleased to direct the following terms to be held out as an encouragement to such non-commissioned officers and private men of the marines as might be desirous of becoming settlers either at Port Jackson, or in any of the islands comprized within the government of the continent of New South Wales, on the arri-

val of the corps raised and intended for the service of that country, and for their relief, viz.

To every non-commissioned officer, an allotment of one hundred and thirty acres of land, if single; and one hundred and fifty, if married.

To every private man, eighty acres of land, if single, one hundred, if married; and ten acres of land for each child at the time of granting the allotment; free of all taxes, quit-rents, and other acknowledgments, for the term of five years; at the expiration of which term to be liable to an annual quit-rent of one shilling for every fifty acres.

As a further acknowledgment, a bounty was offered of three pounds per man to every non-commissioned officer and private man who would enlist in the new corps, (to form a company to be officered from the marines); and an allotment of double the above proportion of land, if they behaved well for five years, to be granted them at the expiration of that time; the said allotments not to be subject to any tax for ten years.

And at their discharge, at either of the above periods, they were to be supplied with clothing and one year's provisions, with seed-grain, tools, and implements of agriculture. The service of a certain number of convicts was to be assigned to them for their labour when they could make it appear that they could feed and clothe them. In these instructions no mention was made of granting lands to officers; and to other persons who might emigrate and be desirous of settling in this country, no greater proportion of land was to be allotted than what was to be granted to a non-commissioned officer of the marines.

Government, between every allotment, reserved to itself a space equal to the largest grant, but leased only to individuals for the term of fourteen years.

Provision was made for the church, by allotting in each township, which should be marked out, four hundred acres for the maintenance of a minister; and half of that number was to be allotted for the maintenance of a school-master. If the

allotment should happen to be made on the banks of any navigable river, care was to be taken that the breadth of each track did not extend along the banks more than one-third of the length of such track, in order that no settler should engross more than his proportion of the benefit which would accrue from such a situation. And it was directed, that the good and the bad land should be as equally divided as circumstances would allow. The original instructions (under which each male convict emancipated or discharged, if single, was to have thirty, if married, fifty, and ten acres for every child that he might have at the time of settling,) remained in force.

The particular conditions required by the crown from a settler were, the residing upon the ground, proceeding to the improvement and cultivation of his allotment, and reserving such of the timber thereof as might be fit for naval purposes for the use of his Majesty.

The Surprise sailed on the 1st of August, with the necessary supplies, for Norfolk Island, having on board 35 male and 150 female convicts, with two superintendants, a deputy commissary, and an assistant-surgeon; and in a few days both the Scarborough and Neptune sailed for China.

It having been found that the arms and ammunition which were entrusted to the convicts residing at the distant farms for their protection against the natives, were made a very different use of, an order was given, recalling them, and prohibiting any convicts from going out with arms, except those who were licensed game-killers.

The clergyman complaining of non-attendance at divine service; which, it must be observed, was generally performed in the open air, alike unsheltered from wind and rain, as from the fervour of the summer's sun, it was ordered that three pounds of flour should be deducted from the ration of each overseer, and two pounds from that of each labouring convict, who should not attend prayers once on each Sunday, unless some reasonable excuse for their absence should be assigned.

Governor Phillip, who had uniformly directed every undertaking in person since the formation of the colony, went down in the morning of the 7th of September, to the South Head, accompanied by two officers, to give some instructions to the people employed in erecting a column at that place. As he was returning to the settlement, he received information, by a boat which had landed some gentlemen in the lower part of the harbour, who were going on an excursion to Broken Bay, that Bennillong, the native who escaped in May, had been seen there among many others of his countrymen that had assembled to feast upon a whale, which after being attacked by our people in the harbour, and overturning a boat, whereby three lives were lost, had got on shore in Manly Bay. Anxious to see him again, the Governor, after taking some arms from the party at the Look-out, went down and landed at the place where the whale was lying. There he not only saw Bennillong, but Cole-be also, who had made his escape from the Governor's house a few days after his capture. At first his Excellency trusted himself alone with these people; but the few months that Bennillong had been away so altered his person, that the Governor, until joined by his companions, did not perfectly recollect his old acquaintance. This native had been always much attached to Captain Collins, one of the gentlemen then with the Governor, and testified with much warmth his satisfaction at seeing him again. Several articles of wearing apparel were given to him and his companions (taken for that purpose from the people in the boat, but who, all but one man, remained on their oars to be ready in case of any accident); and a promise was exacted from his Excellency by Bennillong to return in two days with more, and also with some hatchets or tomahawks. The cove was full of natives, allured by the attractions of a whale-feast; and it being remarked, during the conference, that twenty or thirty of them were drawing into a circle round the Governor and his friends, (who had most inexcusably exposed themselves), the Governor proposed retiring to the boat by de-

grees; but Bennillong, who had presented to him several natives by name, pointed out one, whom the Governor, thinking to take particular notice of, stepped forward to meet, holding out both his hands towards him. The savage not understanding this civility, and perhaps thinking that he was going to seize him as a prisoner, lifted a spear from the grass with his foot, and, fixing it on his throwing-stick, in an instant darted it at the Governor. The spear entered a little above the collar-bone, and had been discharged with such force that the barb of it came through on the other side. Several other spears were thrown, but happily no further mischief was effected. The spear was with difficulty broken by one of the gentlemen present; and while the Governor was walking down to the boat the people landed with the arms; but of four muskets which they brought on shore one only could be fired.

This accident gave cause to the opening of a communication between the natives and the settlement; which, although attended with such an unpromising beginning, it was hoped would be followed with good consequences.

A few days after the accident, Bennillong, who certainly had not any culpable share in the transaction, came with his wife and some of his companions to a cove on the north shore not far from the settlement; where, by means of Boo-roong, the female who lived in the clergyman's house, an interview was effected between the natives and some officers, who, at considerable personal risk, went over with her.

At this time the name of the man who wounded the Governor was first known to be Wil-le-me-ring; and Bennillong made many attempts to fix a belief that he had beaten him severely for the aggression. Bennillong declared, that he would wait in that situation for some days, and hoped that the Governor would be able, before the expiration of them, to visit him. On the tenth day after he had received the wound, his Excellency was so far recovered as to go to the place, accompanied by several officers, all armed. Here he saw Ben-

nillong and his companions. Bennillong repeated the assurances of his having, in conjunction with his friend Cole-be, severely beaten Wil-le-me-ring, and added, that his throwing the spear at the Governor was entirely the effect of his fears, and done from the impulse of self-preservation.

In the night of the 26th, a desertion of an extraordinary nature took place. Five male convicts conveyed themselves, in a small boat called a punt, from Rose Hill, undiscovered. They here exchanged the punt for a boat, though very small and weak, with a mast and sail, with which they got out of the harbour. On sending to Rose Hill, people were found who could give an account of their intentions and proceedings, and who knew that they purposed steering for Otaheite, having each taken provisions for one week, their clothes and bedding, three iron pots, and some other utensils of that nature. They had all come out in the last fleet, and took this method of speedily accomplishing their sentences of transportation, which were for the term of their natural lives. A boat was sent in search, but returned without discovering the least trace of them. They, no doubt, had pushed directly out upon that ocean which, from the wretched state of the boat wherein they trusted themselves, must have proved their grave.

Bennillong, after appointing several days to visit the Governor, at last made his appearance, attended by three of his companions. The welcome reception which they met with from every one who saw them, inspired the strangers with such a confidence in their entertainers, that the visit was soon repeated; and at length Bennillong solicited the Governor to build him a hut at the end of the eastern point of the cove. This the Governor, who was very desirous of preserving the friendly intercourse which now subsisted, readily promised, and gave the necessary directions for its being built.

While they were thus amusing themselves with these children of ignorance, the signal for a sail was made at the South head; and shortly after the Supply anchored in the cove from

Batavia, having been absent from the settlement six months and two days. Lieutenant Ball had arrived at Batavia on the 6th of July, where he hired a vessel, a Dutch snow, which was to sail shortly after him with the provisions that he had purchased for the colony. While the Supply lay at Batavia the season was more unhealthy than had ever been known before; every hospital was full, and several hundreds of the inhabitants had died. Lieutenant Ball, at this grave of Europeans, buried his lieutenant, his gunner, and several of his seamen. He had tried for some days to touch at Norfolk Island, but ineffectually, being prevented by an easterly wind. By the return of this vessel several comforts were introduced into the settlement; her commander having paid the kindest attention to the wants of the officers by procuring their respective investments. After much delay and difficulty, Lieut. Ball was only able to purchase 2021 pounds of flour, which, exclusive of the freight, cost 10½d. per pound. He also bought 200,000 pounds of rice, with some salt provisions; the whole cargo amounted to the enormous sum of £11,688.

A small boat which had been sent out with a seine was lost somewhere about the Middle Head. She had five convicts in her; and from the reports of the natives, who were witnesses of the accident, it was supposed that they had crossed the harbour's mouth, and, having hauled the seine in Hunter's Bay, were returning loaded, when, getting in too close with the rocks and the surf under Middle Head, she filled and went down. The first information that any accident had happened was given by the natives, who had secured the rudder, the mast, an oar, and other parts of the boat, which they had fixed in such situations as were likely to render them conspicuous to any boat passing that way. Some gentlemen going down soon after found their information too true. One of the bodies was lying dead upon the beach.

On the 10th of December a convict, employed by Governor Phillip to shoot for him, was dangerously wounded by a native named Pe-mul-wy, while in quest of game at some

considerable distance in the woods. When brought in, he declared, and at a time when he thought himself dying, that he did not give any offence to the man who wounded him; that he had even quitted his arms, to induce him to look upon him as a friend, when the savage threw his spear at about the distance of ten yards, with a skill that was fatally unerring. When the spear was extracted (which was not till suppuration took place) it was found to have entered his body under the left arm, to the depth of seven inches and a half, and was armed for five or six inches from the point with ragged pieces of shells fastened in gum. His recovery was pronounced by the surgeon to be very doubtful.

As the attack on this man appeared to have been wanton and entirely unprovoked, not only from the sufferer's own relation of the circumstance, but from the account of those who were with him, and who bore testimony to his being unarmed, the Governor determined to punish the offender, who, it was understood, resorted with his tribe above the head of Botany Bay. He therefore directed that an armed party from the garrison should march thither, and either destroy or make prisoners of six persons (if practicable) of that tribe to which the aggressor belonged, carefully avoiding to offer any injury to either women or children. To this measure his Excellency resorted with reluctance. He had always wished that none of their blood might be shed; and in his own case, when wounded by the native, as he could not punish him on the spot, he gave up all thoughts of doing it in future. As, however, they seemed to take every advantage of unarmed men, some check appeared absolutely necessary. Accordingly a party, consisting of two captains, with two subalterns, three sergeants, two corporals, one drummer, and forty privates, attended by two surgeons, set off with three days' provisions for the purpose above-mentioned.

There was little probability that such a party would be able to fall in with the people whom they were sent to punish so unexpectedly, as to surprise them, without which chance

they might hunt them in the woods for ever; and as the different tribes were not to be distinguished from each other, but by being found inhabiting particular residences, there would be some difficulty in determining, if any natives should fall in their way, whether they were the objects of their expedition, or some unoffending family wholly unconnected with them. The very circumstance, however, of a party being armed and detached purposely to punish the man and his companions who had wounded a white man, was likely to have a good effect; as it was well known to several natives, who were at this time in the town of Sidney, that this was the intention with which they were sent out.

On the third day after their departure they returned without having hurt a native, or made a prisoner. They had seen some at the head of Botany Bay, and fired at them, but without doing any injury. Whenever the party was seen by the natives, they fled with incredible swiftness; nor had a second attempt, which the Governor directed, any better success.

On the 17th Dec. the Dutch snow the *Waaksamheyd* anchored in the cove from Batavia, having left that place on the 20th of Sept. and met on her passage with contrary winds. She had been manned principally with Malays, sixteen of whom died during the passage.

The quantity of rice brought in this vessel was weighed against the wish of the master, and found to be 42,009 cwt. less than what was purchased. The Governor agreed to receive 1lb. of butter (the master having a quantity of that article) for eighteen pounds of rice.

The numbers who died by sickness in the year 1790 were, two seamen, one soldier, one hundred and twenty-three male convicts, seven females, and ten children. In the above time, four male convicts were executed; one midshipman, two soldiers, and six male convicts, were drowned; one convict perished in the woods, and two absconded; making a total decrease of one hundred and fifty-nine persons.

CHAP. X.

Commencement of 1791—A Native killed—Supply sails for Norfolk Island—Dutch Snow hired to proceed to England—Supply returns with Captain Hunter from Norfolk Island—Transactions there—The Dutch Vessel sails to England, and the Supply to Norfolk Island—A Party of Convicts escape—Ration reduced—Various Regulations—State of Norfolk Island—Convicts wantonly destroy a Canoe.

In January 1791, the Indian corn beginning to ripen at Rose Hill, the convicts commenced their depredations, for which several were punished; but nothing seemed to deter them, and they now committed thefts as if they stole from principle; for at this time they received the full ration, in which no difference was made between them and the Governor, or any other free person in the colony. On the arrival of the Dutch provisions, the Governor had altered the ration, and caused five pounds of rice to be issued in lieu of four pounds of flour.

Information having been received, that some natives had thrown a spear or fiz-gig at a convict in a garden on the west side, where they had met together to steal potatoes, an armed party was sent to disperse them; when a club being thrown by one of the natives at the party, the latter fired, and one man was wounded. This circumstance was at first only surmised, on tracing a quantity of blood from the spot to the water; but in a few days afterwards the natives in the town told the name of the wounded man, and added, that he was then dead, and to be found in a cove which they mentioned. On going to the place, a savage, well known in the town since the intercourse between them and the inhabitants had been opened, was found dead, and disposed of for burning. He had been shot under the arm, and the surgeon was of opinion that he had bled to death.

It was much to be regretted, that any necessity existed for adopting these sanguinary punishments; and that they had not been yet able to reconcile these people to the deprivation of those parts of this harbour occupied by the English; but while they entertained the idea of the English having dispossessed them of their residences, they must always consider them as enemies; and upon this principle would make a point of attacking them whenever opportunity or safety concurred.

It had been the custom to leave the signal colours during the day at the flag-staff at the south head; at which place they were seen by some of the natives, who, watching their opportunity, ran away with them, and they were afterwards seen divided among them in their canoes, and used as coverings.

On the 22d, the Supply sailed for Norfolk Island, with some provisions for that settlement; and on the same day the man employed to shoot for the Governor expired of the wound that he had received from the native.

The Governor was desirous of sending the Dutch Snow to England with the officers and people of the Sirius; but the avarice, perverseness, and ignorance of the master was such, that it was extremely difficult to settle the charter-party. At last terms were agreed on, and preparations made for the voyage.

The Supply, after an absence of five weeks, returned from Norfolk Island, having on board Captain Hunter, with the officers and people of the Sirius. They brought a confirmation that the fears which had been entertained of the distressed situation of that settlement had been too well founded. The supply of provisions which was dispatched in the Justinian and Surprize reached them at a critical point of time, there being in store on the 7th of August, when they appeared off the island, provisions but for a few days at the ration then issued, which was three pounds of flour and one pint of rice; or, in lieu of flour, three pounds of Indian meal or of wheat, ground, and not separated from the husks or the bran. Their

salt provisions were so nearly expended, that while a bird or a fish could be procured no salt meat was issued. The weekly ration of this article was only one pound and a half of beef, or seventeen ounces of pork. What their situation might have been but for the providential supply of birds that they met with, it is impossible to say; to themselves it had appeared too big with calamity to be contemplated without terror.

The people of *Sirius* had, during their stay at Norfolk Island, under the direction of Captain Hunter, been most usefully and successfully employed in removing several rocks which obstructed the passage through the reef; and a correct survey of the island had been made by Lieutenant Bradley, by which many dangers had been discovered, that until then had been unknown. There had been cleared since the arrival of the Lieutenant-governor 114 acre of land; but the crops of maize and wheat, which had worn a very promising appearance, were not only retarded by too dry a season, but infested by myriads of grubs and caterpillars, which destroyed every thing they touched.

Martial law continued in force until the supplies arrived; and of the general demeanor of the convicts during that time report spoke favourably.

The *Lady Juliana*, passing the island in her way to China, was the first ship that was seen; but, to the inexpressible disappointment and distress of those who saw her, as well as to the surprise of all who heard the circumstance, the master did not send a boat on shore. Nor were they relieved from their anxiety until two days had passed, when the other ship arrived.

Towards the latter end of March the officers and seamen of the *Sirius* were embarked on board the *snow*, to return to England. Of these, ten seamen and two marines chose rather to settle in that country than return to their own. The majority of them had formed connections with women, for whose sake they consented to embrace a mode of life for which the natural restlessness of a sailor's disposition was but ill calcu-

lated. This motive, it is true, they disavowed; but one of the stipulations which they were desirous of making for themselves, being the indulgence of having the women who had before lived with them permitted still to do so, and it appearing not the least important article in their consideration, seemed a strong presumption that it was the companion, not the country, which had influenced their decision. Allotments of 60 acres each were marked out for them as settlers at Sydney or Norfolk Island, according as they made their choice.

The Supply was now ready to sail for Norfolk Island; and on the 21st of March, 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 1 serjeant, 1 corporal, 1 drummer, and 18 privates of the New South Wales corps, embarked on board her, to relieve a part of the marine detachment doing duty there. On the following morning she sailed, carrying an instrument under the hand and seal of the Governor, restoring to the rights and privileges of a free man John Ascott, a convict at Norfolk Island, who had rendered himself very conspicuous by his exertions in preventing the *Sirius* from being burnt soon after she was wrecked.

On the 28th the *Waaksamheyd* transport sailed for England, having on board Captain Hunter, with the officers and crew of his Majesty's late ship *Sirius*.

In the course of the night of the 28th, a convict of the name of Bryant, whose term of transportation, according to his own account, had recently expired, eluded the watch that was kept upon him, and made his escape, together with his wife and two children (one an infant at the breast) and seven other convicts, in a fishing-boat. Their flight was not discovered until they had been several hours without the heads. Though Bryant had for some time been suspected of intending to escape when opportunity offered, yet such had been the address with which he had conducted himself, that at this period his motions had been less attended to than usual. Most of his companions were connected with female convicts; but if they knew of their intention they were too faithful to those

whom they lived with to reveal it. For one young woman a letter was found from one of the adventurers, conjuring her to relinquish the pursuit of those vices which, he told her, prevailed in the settlement, leaving her what little property he did not take with him, and assigning as a reason for his flight the severity of his situation, being transported for life, without the prospect of any mitigation, or hope of ever quitting the country, but by the means that he was about to adopt. It was conjectured that they would steer for Timor, or Batavia, as their assistance and information were derived from the Dutch snow.

The depredations at Rose Hill were now so frequent and extensive, that it became absolutely necessary to punish such offenders as were detected with a severity that might deter others: to this end, iron collars of seven pounds weight were ordered as a punishment for flagrant offenders, who were also linked together by a chain, without which precaution they would still have continued to plunder the public grounds.

As the convicts did not consider a marriage contracted in that country as binding, his Excellency caused these people to be informed, that none would be permitted to quit the colony who had wives or children incapable of maintaining themselves and likely to become burdensome to the settlement, until they had found sufficient security for the maintenance of such wives and children. Orders were given for limiting the length of such boats as should be built by individuals to such size as might deter the convicts from attempts to take them off. Also regulations as to the people employed in boats after sun-set, whose names were to be given in writing to the officer on guard, to prevent any convict taking them from the wharfs under pretence of fishing or other services.

Three officers, two non-commissioned officers, one drummer, and twenty privates of the marine detachment, arrived in the Supply, which anchored in the bay on the 30th of April, after a long and tedious voyage. The weather had been as dry at Norfolk Island as it had been at Port Jackson;

which, with the blighted winds, had considerably injured all the gardens, and particularly some crops of potatoes.

It was remarked by many in the settlement, that both at Sydney and at Rose Hill the countenances of the labouring convicts indicated the shortness of the ration that they received; this might be occasioned by their having suffered so much before from the same cause; from the effects of which they had scarcely been restored when they were again called upon to experience the hardship of a reduced ration of provisions. The convicts which arrived in June had not yet recovered from the severity of their sufferings on the passage.

The barracks at Rose Hill being sufficiently completed, they were taken possession of at the latter end of May by the New South Wales corps. Thefts innumerable were still committed; and though severe punishment was certain to follow detection, it either had lost its terrors, or the habits of depravity were become so much a part of their nature as to subdue every other sensation. Finishing the clergyman's and surveyor's houses, bringing in bricks for other buildings, posts and paling for a fence round the run of water, and making cloathing for the people, occupied the convicts at Sydney.—The town which had been marked out at Rose Hill, and which now wore something of a regular appearance, on this occasion received its name. The Governor calling it Par-ramat-ta, being the name by which the natives distinguished that part of the country on which the town stood.

Since the establishment of that familiar intercourse which now subsisted between the settlers and the natives, several of them had found it their interest to sell or exchange fish among the people of Parramatta; they being contented to receive a small quantity of either bread or salt meat in barter for mullet, bream, and other fish. To the officers who resided there this proved a great convenience, and they encouraged the natives to visit them as often as they would bring them fish. There were, however, among the convicts some who were so unthinking or so depraved, as wantonly to destroy a canoe be-

longing to a fine young man, a native, who had left it at a little distance from the settlement, and as he hoped out of the way of observation, while he went with some fish to the huts. His rage at finding his canoe destroyed was inconceivable: he threatened to take his revenge, and in his own way, upon all white people. Three of the six people who had done him the injury, however, were so well described by some one who had seen them, that, being closely pursued, they were taken and punished, as were the remainder a few days after.

The instant effect of this was, that the natives discontinued the bringing up of fish; and Bal-loo-der-ry, whose canoe had been destroyed, although he had been taught to believe that one of the six convicts had been hanged for the offence, meeting a few days afterwards with a poor wretch who had strayed from Parramatta as far as the Flats, he wounded him in two places with a spear. This act of Bal-loo-der-ry's was followed by the Governor's strictly forbidding him to appear again at any of the settlements; the other natives, his friends, being alarmed, Parramatta was seldom visited by any of them, and all commerce with them was at an end. How much greater claim to the appellation of savages had the wretches who were the cause of this, than the natives who were termed so!

In the month of June, the stone-mason, with the people under his direction, had begun their operations at the west point of the Cove, where the Governor purposed constructing, out of the rock, a spot whereon to place the guns belonging to the settlement, which was to wear the appearance of a work. The flag-staff was to be placed in the same situation. The house for the principal surgeon was got up and covered. To guard against a recurrence of the accident which happened to the cattle soon after they had arrived, the Governor had for some time employed a certain number of convicts at Parramatta in forming inclosures; and at the commencement of July not less than 140 acres were thinned of the timber, surrounded by a ditch, and guarded by a proper fence.—In addition to the quantity of ground sown with wheat, a large

proportion was cleared to be sown with Indian corn; and the country about Parramatta, as well as the town itself, where eight huts were now built, wore a very promising appearance. At Sydney, the little ground that was in cultivation belonged to individuals; the whole labour of the convicts employed in clearing ground having been exerted at Parramatta, where the soil, though not the best for the purposes of agriculture (according to the opinion of every man who professed any knowledge of farming), was still better than the sand about Sydney, where, to raise even a cabbage after the first crop, manure was absolutely requisite.

CHAP. IX.

Several Transports arrive successively—Full Ration issued—State of Norfolk Island—The Gorgon arrives—Commission of Emancipation—Complaints against the Master of a Transport—Mutiny on board the Albemarle—Public Transactions—Irish Convicts abscond—Whale Fishery—Marines embark, and the Supply sails for England—Ration reduced—Convicts emancipated.

ON the morning of the 9th, the signal for a sail was made at the South-head; and before night it was made known that the Mary Ann transport was arrived from England, with one hundred and forty-one female convicts on board, six children, and one free woman, some clothing, and the following small quantity of provisions; one hundred and thirty-two barrels of flour; sixty-one tierces of pork; and thirty-two tierces of beef.

This ship sailed alone; but gave information that she was to be followed by nine sail of transports, on board of which were to be embarked (including one hundred and fifty women, the number put into the Mary) two thousand and fifty male and female convicts; the whole of which were to be expected in the course of six weeks or two months, together with his Majesty's ship Gorgon.

They also learned, that Lieutenant King, who sailed from Port Jackson on the 17th of April, 1790, arrived in London on the 20th day of December following. He had suffered much distress after leaving Batavia, whence he was obliged to go to the Mauritius, having lost, by sickness, nearly all the crew of the packet that he was in. Mr Millar, the late commissary, had died upon the passage.

They heard with great satisfaction of the government in England having adopted a system of sending out convicts at two embarkations in every year, at which time provisions were also to be sent. It was not probable that they would again experience the misery and want with which they had already been but too well acquainted, from not having had any regular mode of supply. Intimation was likewise given, that a cargo of grain might be expected to arrive from Bengal; some merchants at that settlement having proposed to Lord Cornwallis, on hearing of the loss of the *Guardian*, to freight a ship with such a cargo as would be adapted to the wants of the colony, and to supply the different articles at a cheaper rate than they could be sent from England. They were also to expect a transport with live stock from the North-west coast of America. The master, Mark Monroe, had not any private letters on board; but (what added to the disappointment that every one experienced) this man had not brought a single newspaper; and having been but a few weeks from Greenland before he had sailed for New South Wales, he was nearly as destitute of any kind of information as the ship that he commanded; they were therefore compelled to suspend their ardent curiosity, and to hope for the speedy arrival of a more intelligent person.

The females who came in this gentleman's ship were all very healthy, and spoke highly of the treatment which they had met with from him. These women were on their landing distributed among the huts at Sydney; and the Governor went to Parramatta to make such preparations as the time would admit for the numbers that he expected to receive.

The convicts whose terms of transportation had expired, were now collected, and, by the authority of the Governor, informed, that such of them as wished to become settlers in that country should receive every encouragement; that those who did not, were to labour for their provisions, stipulating to work for twelve or eighteen months certain; and that in the way of such as preferred returning to England no obstacles would be thrown, provided they could procure passages from the masters of such ships as might arrive; but that they were not to expect any assistance on the part of Government to that end. The wish to return to their friends appeared to be the prevailing idea, a few only giving in their names as settlers, and none engaged to work for a certain time.

It being always desirable to go as near the established ration as the state of the stores would allow, the Governor directed two pounds of rice to be added to the weekly proportion of that article; but though by this addition eight pounds of grain were issued (*viz.* three pounds of flour and five of rice), the ration was far from being brought up to the standard established by the Treasury for the colony; five pounds of bad worm-eaten rice making a most inadequate substitute for the same quantity of good flour. In the article of meat the labouring man suffered still more; for in a given quantity of sixty pounds, which were issued on one serving-day to two messes, there were no less than forty pounds of bone, and the remainder, which was intended to be eaten, was almost too far advanced in putrefaction for even hunger to get it down. It must be observed, that it came in the snow from Batavia.

On Monday, the 1st of August, the *Matilda*, the first of the expected fleet of transports, arrived, after an extraordinary passage of four months and five days from Portsmouth; having sailed from thence on the 27th of March, with four sail of transports, with whom she parted company that night off Dunnoze. On board the *Matilda* were two hundred and five male convicts; one ensign, one serjeant, one corporal, one drummer, and nineteen privates, of the New South Wales

corps; and some stores and provisions calculated as a supply for the above number for nine months after their arrival.—The convicts in this ship, on their landing, appeared to be aged and infirm, the state in which they were said to have been embarked. It was not therefore to be wondered at, that they had buried twenty-five on their passage. Twenty were sick, and were immediately landed at the hospital. Fifty-five of the convicts brought in this ship, selected from the others as farmers and artificers, were sent to Parramatta; of the remainder, those whose health would permit them to go were put on board the *Mary Ann*, together with thirty-two convicts of bad character from among those who came out in the preceding year, and eleven privates of the New South Wales corps. On the 8th, the *Mary Ann* sailed for Norfolk Island.

On the arrival of the *Matilda*, orders were given that the weekly allowance of flour should be increased to five pounds for each man, and three pounds and a half for each woman.

On the 20th, the Atlantic transport anchored in the cove from Plymouth, whence she sailed with two other transports. She had on board a serjeant's party of the new corps as a guard to two hundred and twenty male convicts, eighteen of whom had died on the passage: except nine who were sick, the remainder were very healthy. The next day the *Salamander*, another transport, arrived, bringing a serjeant's party, and one hundred and sixty male convicts, one hundred and fifty-five of whom arrived in very good health. The party, however, had lost their serjeant, he having shewn his preference to remaining in England, by deserting when the ship was on the point of sailing.

The Governor now directed the issuing of the full ration; the reduced had continued for twenty-one weeks.

A party of one hundred convicts were sent to Parramatta; the *Salamander* was ordered to proceed to Norfolk Island with the people and cargo, and the remaining convicts from the other ship were disposed of at Sydney. There were at this time not less than seventy persons from the *Matilda* and At-

lantic under medical treatment, being weak, emaciated, and unfit for any kind of labour ; and the list was daily increasing. It might have been supposed, that on changing from the unwholesome air of a ship's between decks to the purer air of the country, the weak would have gathered strength ; but it had been observed, that in general, soon after landing, the convicts were affected with dysenteric complaints, perhaps caused by the change of water, many dying, and others who had strength to overcome the disease recovering from it but slowly. On the 28th the William and Ann transport arrived, having on board one serjeant and twelve privates, one hundred and eighty-one male convicts, with her proportion of stores and provisions. She had lost seven convicts on the passage ; the remainder were very healthy, five only being so ill as to require removal.

The town beginning to fill with strangers (officers and seamen from the transports), and spirituous liquors finding their way among the convicts, it was ordered that none should be landed until a permit had been granted by the Judge-advocate.

Bal-loo-der-ry, the proscribed native, having ventured into the town with some of his friends, one or two armed parties were sent to seize him ; and a spear having been thrown (it was said by him) two musquets were fired, by which one of his companions was wounded in the leg ; but Bal-loo der-ry was not taken. On the following day it was given out in orders, that he was to be taken whenever an opportunity offered ; and that any native attempting to throw a spear in his defence (as it was well known among them why vengeance was denounced against him) was, if possible, to be prevented from escaping with impunity. On 3d of September, near two hundred male convicts, with a serjeant's party of the New South Wales corps, some stores and provisions, having been put on board the Salamander, she sailed for Norfolk Island ; and the Mary Ann returned from that settlement on the 8th, having been absent only four weeks and two days. The convicts, stores, and provisions were all safely landed ; but an

unexpected surf rising at the back of the reef, filled the only boat (a Greenland whale boat) which the master took with him, and she was dashed upon the reef, and stove: the people fortunately saved themselves by swimming.

On the 21st, his Majesty's ship *Gorgon*, of 44 guns, commanded by Captain John Parker, anchored within the heads. She had sailed from England on the 15th of March last, touching at the islands of Teneriffe and St. Jago, and at the Cape of Good Hope, where she remained six weeks, taking in three bulls, twenty-three cows, sixty-eight sheep, eleven hogs, two hundred fruit-trees, a quantity of garden-seed, and other articles for the colony. Unfortunately, the bulls and seven of the cows died; but a bull-calf, which had been produced on board, arrived in good condition.

Six months' provisions for about nine hundred people, with stores for his majesty's armed tender the *Supply*, and for the marine detachment, were sent out in the *Gorgon*; wherein also was embarked Mr King, the late commandant of Norfolk Island, now appointed by his Majesty Lieutenant-governor of that settlement, and a commander in the navy; together with a deputy surveyor-general, to be employed at Norfolk Island; the chaplain and quarter-master of the New South Wales corps, and a superintendant of convicts. By this ship also came a public seal, to be affixed to all instruments drawn in his Majesty's name; and a commission under the great seal, empowering the Governor for the time being to remit, either absolutely or conditionally, the whole or any part of the term for which felons, or other offenders, should have been, or might hereafter be transported to that country. Duplicates of each pardon were to be sent to England for the purpose of inserting the names of the persons so emancipated in the first general pardon which should afterwards issue under the great seal of the kingdom.

The cattle were immediately landed, and turned into the inclosures which had been prepared for them. One cow died in the boat going up. The remaining transports of the fleet

were now dropping in. On the 26th, the *Active* from England, and the *Queen* from Ireland, with convicts of that country, arrived. On board of the *Active*, beside the serjeant's guard, were one hundred and fifty-four male convicts. An officer's party was on board the *Queen*, with one hundred and twenty-six male and twenty-three female convicts, and three children. These ships had been unhealthy, and had buried several convicts in their passage. The sick which they brought in were landed immediately; and many of those who remained, and were not so ill as to require medical assistance, were brought ashore in an emaciated and feeble condition, particularly the convicts from the *Active*. They in general complained of not having received the allowance intended for them; but their emaciated appearance was to be ascribed as much to confinement as to any other cause. The convicts from the *Queen*, however, accusing the master of having withheld their provisions, an enquiry took place before the magistrates, and it appeared, beyond a doubt, that great abuses had been practised in the issuing of the provisions; but as to the quantity withheld, it was not possible to ascertain it so clearly, as to admit of directing the deficiency to be made good, or of punishing the parties with that retributive justice for which the heinousness of their offence so loudly called: the proceedings of the magistrates were therefore submitted to the governor, who determined to transmit them to the secretary of state.

The remainder of the transports expected did not arrive till the middle of October. The *Albemarle* was off the coast some days, and arrived on the 18th, with two hundred and fifty male and six female convicts, her proportion of stores and provisions, and a serjeant's party. The convicts of this ship made an attempt, in conjunction with some of the seamen, to seize her on the 9th of April, soon after she left England; and they would in all probability have succeeded, but for the activity and resolution shewn by the master, Mr George Bowen, who, hearing the alarm, had just time to arm

himself with a loaded blunderbuss, which he discharged at one of the mutineers, William Sydney (then in the act of aiming a blow with a cutlass at the man at the wheel), and lodged its contents in his shoulder. His companions, seeing what had befallen him, instantly ran below; but the master, his officers, and some of the seamen of the ship, following them, soon secured the ring-leaders, Owen Lyons and William Sydney. A consultation was held with the naval agent, the ship's company, and the military persons on board; the result of which was, the immediate execution of those two at the fore-yard-arm. They had at this time parted company with the other transports, and no other means seemed so likely to deter the convicts from any future attempt of the like nature. It afterwards appearing that two seamen had supplied them with instruments for sawing off their irons, these were left at the island of Madeira, to be sent prisoners to England.

On the following day the *Britannia* arrived, with one hundred and twenty-nine male convicts, stores, and provisions on board; and on the 16th the *Admiral Barrington*, the last of the ten sail of transports, anchored in the cove, having on board a captain and a party of the New South Wales corps, with two hundred and sixty-four male convicts, four women, and one child. She too had been unhealthy, having lost thirty-six convicts in the passage, and brought in eighty-four persons sick. Her stores and proportion of provision were the same as on board of the other ships.

The whole number of convicts now received into the colony, including thirty on board the *Gorgon*, were, male convicts one thousand six hundred and ninety-five; females one hundred and sixty-eight; and children nine. There were also eight free women (wives of convicts), and one child; making a total number of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one persons, exclusive of the military. Upwards of two hundred convicts, male and female, had died on their passage.

Of the ten sail of transports, five, after delivering their cargoes, were to proceed on the Southern Whale Fishery. The

other transports were to proceed to Bombay. The quantity of provisions received by these ships being calculated for the numbers on board of each for nine months only after their arrival; and as, so large a body of convicts having been sent out, it was not probable that they should soon have another supply, the Governor judged it expedient to send one of the transports to Bengal, to procure provision for the colony; for which purpose he hired the Atlantic at fifteen shillings and sixpence per ton per month.

On the anniversary of his Majesty's accession to the throne, a salute of one and twenty guns was fired by the Gorgon; and at the public dinner given on the occasion at the Government-house, upwards of fifty officers were assembled; a greater number than had ever before met in that colony.

On the 26th the Atlantic sailed for Norfolk Island and Calcutta; for the first of these places, she had on board Lieutenant-Governor King and his family; a Captain of the New South Wales corps; an assistant-surgeon; the Rev. Mr Johnson, who voluntarily visited Norfolk Island for the purpose of performing those duties of his office which had hitherto been omitted through the want of a minister to perform them; twenty-nine settlers discharged from the marines; several male and female convicts, and some few settlers from that class of people.

The tranquillity of the little town of Sydney was much less disturbed than it was imagined would have been the case, from the great influx of disorderly seamen who were at times let loose from the transports; this, probably, was owing to the enforcing of the port-orders, from the first, with some degree of severity.

On the first day of November, information was received from Parramatta, that a body of twenty male convicts and one female, of those lately arrived in the Queen transport from Ireland, each taking a week's provision, and armed with tomahawks and knives, had absconded from that settlement, with the chimerical idea of walking to China, or of finding

some country wherein they would be received and entertained without labour. It was generally supposed, however, that this improbable tale was only a cover to the real design, which might be to procure boats, and get on board the transports after they had left the cove. An officer from Parramatta with a party was immediately sent in pursuit of them, who traced them as far down the harbour as Lane cove, whence he reached the settlement of Sydney, without obtaining any further intelligence of them. A few days afterwards, the people in a boat belonging to the Albemarle transport, which had been down the harbour to procure wood on the North shore, met with the wretched female who had accompanied the men.—She had been separated from them for three days, and wandered by herself, entirely ignorant of her situation, until she came to the water-side, where, fortunately, she soon after met the boat. Boats were sent down the next day, and the woman's husband was found and taken back to the settlement. They both gave the same absurd account of their design as before related, and appeared to have suffered very considerably by fatigue, hunger, and heat. The man had lost his companions eight-and-forty hours before he was himself discovered; and no tidings of them were received for several days, although boats were constantly sent into the north-west arm, and the lower part of the harbour.

Three of these miserable people were some time after met by some officers who were on an excursion to the lagoon between the harbour and Broken Bay; but, notwithstanding their situation, they did not readily give themselves up; and, when questioned, said that they wanted nothing more than to live free from labour. These people were sent up to Parramatta, whence, regardless of what they had experienced, and might again suffer, they a second time absconded in a few days after they had returned. Parties were immediately dispatched, and thirteen of those who first absconded were brought in, in a state of deplorable wretchedness, naked, and nearly worn out with hunger. Some of them had subsisted chiefly

by sucking the flowering shrubs and wild berries of the woods ; and the whole exhibiting a picture of misery that seemed sufficient to deter others from the like extravagant folly. The practice of flying from labour into the woods still prevailing, the Governor caused all the convicts who had arrived that year to be assembled ; when he informed them of his determination to put a stop to their absconding by sending out parties with orders to fire upon them whenever they should be met with ; and he declared, that if any were brought in alive, he would either land them on a part of the harbour where they could not depart, or chain them together, with only bread and water for their subsistence, during the remainder of their terms of transportation. He likewise told them of information which he had received that they intended to arm themselves and seize upon the stores ; but if they did make an attempt of that kind, every man who might be taken should be instantly put to death.

All the vessels which had sailed to try the whale fishery returned in November. A difference of opinion prevailed among the masters respecting the establishing of a whale fishery upon that coast. In one particular, however, they all agreed ; which was, that the coast abounded with fish ; but the major part of them thought that the currents and bad weather prevailing at this season of the year, and which appeared to be also the season of the fish, would prevent any ships from meeting with that success, of which, on their setting out, they themselves had formed such sanguine hopes. One of them thought that the others, in giving this opinion, were premature, and that they were not sufficiently acquainted with the weather on the coast to form any judgment of the advantage to be derived from future attempts.

Before the full ration had continued quite three months, it was once more reduced ; two pounds of flour being taken off, and one pint of pease and one pint of oatmeal issued in their stead. The Supply armed tender, having completed her repairs, sailed for England on the 26th. The services of this

little vessel had endeared her, and her officers and people, to the colony.

The mortality during the month of November had been great, fifty male and four female convicts dying within it.—Five hundred sick persons received medicine at the end of that time. The extreme heat of the weather had not only increased the sick list, but had added one to the number of deaths. On the 4th, a convict attending upon one of the gentlemen, in passing from his house to the kitchen, without any covering upon his head, received a *coup de soleil*, which at the time deprived him of speech and motion, and, in less than four-and-twenty hours, of his life.

The transport having returned from Norfolk Island, with the Lieutenant-Governor and the officers and soldiers of the marine corps, who were to take their passage to England in the Gorgon, the greater part of the marine detachment embarked on board of that ship on the 13th. Those who did not embark were left for the duty of the place until the remainder of the New South Wales corps should arrive. The Gorgon sailed on the 18th.

The Cove and the settlement were now resuming that dull uniformity of uninteresting circumstances which had generally prevailed. The Supply and Gorgon had departed, and with them a valuable part of the society; and in a few days after the Matilda and the Mary Ann sailed for the coast of Peru.—These had some convicts on board, who were permitted to ship themselves with the masters. A further reduction of one pound of flour from the ration took place at the conclusion of December; and from the state of the provision stores, the Governor, on Christmas-day, could only give one pound of flour to each woman in the settlement.

During the month a warrant of emancipation passed the seal of the territory to thirteen convicts, who left England in the Guardian, on condition of their residing within the limits of that government, and not returning to England within the period of their respective sentences. They were to be at

liberty to work at any trade they might be acquainted with ; but during their continuance in that country they were to be disposed of wherever the Governor should think proper. They were also at liberty to cultivate land upon their own account.

CHAP. XII.

Détachment sent to Norfolk Island—Convicts absconded—Extraordinary Circumstance of a Snake—The Pitt with Lieutenant Grose arrives—Mr Burton killed—Stormy Weather—Sickness and mortality in April—Ration again reduced—Thefts of the Natives—Atlantic returns from Calcutta—Britannia arrives from England—Ration increased—Intelligence from Norfolk Island—A vessel from America arrives—George Barrington and others emancipated—Arrival of the Kitty transport—Hospital built at Parramatta—Ration increased—State of Cultivation—Governor Philip sails for England.

EARLY in the month of January 1792, sixty-two people, settlers and convicts, with Mr Bayne, the Chaplain of the New South Wales corps (who offered his services, as there never had been a clergyman there), embarked on board the *Queen* for Norfolk Island ; the master of that ship having engaged to carry them and a certain quantity of provisions thither for the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds. Of the settlers twenty-two were lately discharged from the marine service, and the remainder were convicts; some of the latter, whose terms of transportation had expired, had chosen Norfolk Island to settle in, and others were sent to be employed for the public.

This ship, with the *Admiral Barrington* for India, sailed on the 6th, and the *Salamander* and *Britannia* on the 7th. By these ships the colony lost some useful people whom it could ill spare ; but who, their terms of transportation having expired, would not be induced to remain in the settlement, and could not be prevented from quitting it.

Many convicts were at this time missing, having deserted in order to walk to China! Several after lingering a long time, and existing merely on roots and wild berries, perished miserably. Two of these wretches, at the time of their absconding, met a convict in their way, not far from the new grounds, whom they robbed of his provisions, and beat in so cruel a manner, that, after languishing for some time, he died. He described their persons and mentioned their names, with the precise circumstances attending their treatment of him; and it was hoped that they would have lived to return, and receive the reward of their crime; but one of their companions, who survived them, brought in an account of their having miserably ended a wicked existence in the woods.

Several people at Parramatta, some of whom were at labour, apparently in health, died in four-and-twenty hours.—An extraordinary circumstance attended the death of one poor creature, though it certainly was not the cause of it: while dragging with others at a brick cart, he was seized with a fainting fit, and when he recovered was laid down under a cart which stood in the road, that he might be in the shade.—Being weak and ill, he fell asleep. On waking, and feeling something tight about his neck, he put up his hand, when, to his amazement and horror, he grasped the folds of a large snake which had twined itself round his neck. In endeavouring to disengage it, the animal bit him by the lip, which became instantly tumid. Two men, passing by, took off the snake and threw it on the ground, when it erected itself, and flew at one of them; but they soon killed it. The man who had fainted at the cart died the next morning, not, however, from any effect of the bite of the snake, but from general debility.

On the 14th of February the signal was made for a sail, and shortly after the Pitt, Captain Edward Manning, anchored in the cove from England, having sailed on the 17th of July from Yarmouth Roads, and had rather a long passage, touching at St. Jago, Rio de Janeiro, and the Cape of Good

Hope. She had on board Francis Grose, Esq. the Lieutenant-governor of the settlements, and Major-commandant of the New South Wales corps; one company of which, together with the adjutant, came out with him.

This vessel brought out three hundred and nine male, and forty-nine female convicts, five children, and seven free women, with salt provisions calculated to serve that number of people ten months, but which would only furnish the colony with provisions for forty days. The supply of provisions was confined to salt meat, under the idea that the colony was not in immediate want of flour, and that a supply had been sent from Culcutta, which, together with what had been procured from Batavia, that which had been sent from England, and the grain that might have been raised in the settlements, would be adequate to their consumption. The dispatches, however, which had been forwarded from Port Jackson by the *Justinian* in July 1790, having been received by the Secretary of State, what appeared from those communications to be necessary for the colony were to be sent in one or more ships to be dispatched in the autumn, with an additional number of convicts, and the remaining company of the new corps.—A sloop in frame, of the burthen of forty-one tons, was sent out in the *Pitt*; to make room for which, several bales of clothing, and many useful articles, were obliged to be excluded.

The *Pitt* brought in many of her convicts sick; and several of her seamen, with fifteen soldiers of the New South Wales corps, had died shortly after her leaving St. Jago, owing to her having touched there during an unhealthy season.

On the 13th died Mr David Burton, of a gun-shot wound. This young man, on account of the talents that he possessed as a botanist, and the services which he was capable of rendering in the surveying line, could but very ill be spared in the settlement. His loss was occasioned by one of those accidents which so frequently happen to persons who are inexperienced in the use of fire-arms.

The weather, from the commencement of the month, had been extremely bad; heavy storms of wind and rain having generally prevailed until the 13th, when fair weather succeeded. At Parramatta the gale had done much damage; several huts, which were built in low situations, were rendered almost inaccessible, and the greater part of the wattled huts suffered very much. A large portion of the cleared ground was laid under water, and such corn as had not been reaped was beaten down. At Sydney the effects of the storm, though it had been equally violent, were not so severe. Most of the houses, indeed, were rendered damp, and had leaks in different parts; and seeds which had been recently sown were washed out of the ground. In the woods it had raged with much violence; the people employed to kill game declared that it was dangerous to walk in the forests; and the ground, covered with huge limbs or whole trunks of trees, confirmed the truth of their report.

At this time a reduction took place in the ration. Three pounds of flour, and two pounds of maize, with four pounds of pork, were served to each man; and three pounds of flour, and one pound of maize, with four pounds of pork, to each woman. The children received the usual proportion.

The mortality during this month had been extremely great. Distressing as it was, however, to see the poor wretches daily dropping into the grave, it was far more afflicting to observe the countenances and emaciated persons of many who remained, soon to follow their miserable companions. Every step was taken that could be devised to save them; a fishery was established at the south-head, exclusively for the use of the sick. The game killed by the people who were employed by individuals were given up for the use of the hospital; and, to stimulate them to exertion, a reward was offered according to their success.

The weakest of the convicts were excused from all kinds of hard labour; but it was not hard labour that destroyed them;

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it was an entire want of strength in the constitution, and which nothing but proper nourishment could repair.

This dreadful mortality was confined chiefly to the convicts who had arrived in the last year; of one hundred and twenty-two male convicts who came out in the Queen transport from Ireland, fifty only were living at the beginning of May. The robberies which were every day and night committed were also nearly confined to this class of the convicts; and the wretches who were concerned in the commission of them were in general too weak to receive a punishment adequate to their crimes. Their universal plea was hunger; which, though it could not be contradicted, imperious necessity deprived of its due weight, and frequently compelled punishment to be inflicted when pity was the prevailing sentiment.

In addition to the depredations of their own people, the natives had been some time suspected of stealing the corn at the settlements beyond Paramatta. On the 18th of May a party of the tribe inhabiting the woods, to the number of fifteen or sixteen, was observed coming out of a hut at the middle settlement, dressed in such clothing as they found there, and taking with them a quantity of corn in nets. The person who saw them imagined at first from their appearance that they were convicts; but perceiving one of them preparing to throw a spear at him, he levelled his piece, which was loaded with small shot, and fired. The native instantly dropped his spear, and the whole party ran away, leaving behind them the nets with the corn, some blankets, and one or two spears. It was supposed that the native was wounded; for in a few days information was received from Paramatta, that a convict had been murdered, or rather butchered by some of the natives. When the body was found, it was not quite cold, and had at least thirty spear-wounds in it. The head was cut in several places, and most of the teeth were knocked out. They had taken his clothing and provisions, and the provisions of another man which he was carrying out to him. The natives

with whom they had intercourse said, that this murder was committed by some of the people who inhabited the woods, and was done probably in revenge for the shot that was fired at the natives who some time before were stripping the hut.

The following were the prices of grain and other articles, as they were sold during the month of May, at Sydney:—Flour from 6d. to 1s. per lb.—Maize per bushell 12s. 6d. to 15s.—Laying hens from 7s. to 10s. each—Cocks for killing from 4s. to 7s. each—Eggs 3s. per dozen—Fresh pork 1s. per lb.—Potatoes 3d. per lb.—Good cabbages 1d. each.—Greens 6d. per dozen—Sows in pig 4l. 10s. to 6l. 6s.—Sows that were not, from 3l. to 4l. 4s.—Growing pigs from 1l. to 2l. 10s. each—Sucking pigs 10s. each.—Moist sugar from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per lb.—Tea per lb. from 16s. to 17. 13s.—Coffee 2s. to 2s. 6d. per lb.—Salt pork per lb. from 8d. to 9d.—Tobacco, Brazil, per lb. from 3s. to 5s.—Soap from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per lb.—Cheese from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per lb.

On the 20th of June, to the inexpressible joy of all ranks of people in the settlement, the Atlantic storeship anchored in the cove, with a cargo of rice, soujée, and dhol, from Calcutta. She had been much longer performing her voyage than was expected, owing to some delay in procuring the articles required, and to her having besides met with much bad weather, and some heavy gales of wind. She brought two bulls and a cow of the Bengal breed, together with twenty sheep and twenty goats. The different species of provisions which had been received by this ship were not much esteemed by the people. The flour or soujée, from their not knowing the proper mode of preparing it for bread, soon became sour. The pease were complained of as boiling hard; and the rice was found to be full of husks. Some pork also, of which eight casks had been sent as an experiment, was, on being issued, found to be for the most part putrid. These circumstances, together with the extreme minuteness of the Bengal breed of cattle, excited a general hope in the inhabitants of these settlements that they might not be left to de-

pend on that country for supplies. To the parent country every one anxiously looked for speedy and substantial assistance ; and day after day was passed in the fruitless hope that the morrow would come accompanied with the long-wished-for arrival of ships. This anxiety and expectation remained till the 26th of July, when the long-looked-for signal was made, and in a few hours after the *Britannia* storeship, Mr William Raven master, anchored, after a passage of twenty-three weeks from Falmouth. This was the first of three ships that were to be dispatched hither, having on board twelve months' clothing for the convicts, four months' flour, and eight months' beef and pork for every description of persons in the settlements, at full allowance, calculating their numbers at four thousand six hundred and thirty-nine. On the day following her arrival the ration was directed to be increased.

Thus happily was the colony once more put upon something like a full ration of provisions ; a change that may be well supposed to have given universal satisfaction, more particularly as at the arrival of the *Britannia* there was in the public store no more than twenty-four days' salt provision, at the ration then issued. A delay of one month in her voyage must have placed the colony in a state that would have excited the commiseration of its greatest enemies. But with this new ration all entertained new hopes, and trusted that their future labours would be crowned with success, and that the necessity of sending out supplies from the mother-country, until the colony would support itself without assistance, would have become so evident from the frequency of their distresses, that the historian would no more have to fill his page with comparisons between what they might have been and what they at this time were ; to lament the non-arrival of supplies ; nor to paint the miseries and wretchedness which had ensued ; but be enabled to adopt a language to which he might truly be said to have been hitherto a stranger, and paint the glowing prospects of a golden harvest, the triumph of a

well-filled store, and the consequent increasing prosperity of the settlements.

On the 17th of August the *Britannia* was cleared, and discharged from government employ; but, a deficiency appearing in the weight of the salt provisions delivered from that ship, a survey was immediately ordered; and it appeared from the report of the persons employed to conduct it, that the casks of beef were deficient, on an average, thirty-six pounds and one-third, and the tierces twenty-one pounds and one-third. It also appeared, that the meat was lean, coarse, and boney, and worse than they had ever seen issued in his Majesty's service. A deception of this nature was of course more severely felt in that country, as its inhabitants had but lately experienced a change from a most scanty ration of salt provisions; and every ounce lost was of importance, as the supply had been calculated on a supposition of each cask containing its full weight.

During the same month, the Governor thought it necessary to issue some regulations to be observed by those convicts whose sentences of transportation had expired. Of those at Sydney and Paramatta, who had fulfilled the sentence of the law, by far the greater part signified their intention of returning to England by the first opportunity; but the getting away from the colony was now a matter of some difficulty, as it was understood that a clause was to be inserted in all future contracts for shipping for that country, subjecting the masters to certain penalties, on certificates being received of their having brought away any convicts or other persons without the Governor's permission; and as it was not probable that many of them would, on their return, refrain from the vices or avoid the society of those companions who had been the cause of their transportation to that country, not many could obtain the sanction of the Governor for their return, unless indeed they had well entitled themselves to such indulgence by praise-worthy conduct during their residence in the colony.

On the 30th of September the *Britannia* sailed for Dusky

Bay in New Zealand; and the same night the Atlantic returned from Norfolk Island, after safely landing her cargo. By her they learned, that the expectations which had been formed of the crops at that place had been too sanguine; but that their salt provisions lasted very well. Governor King, however, wrote that the crops then in the ground promised favourably, although he would not venture to speak decidedly, as they were very much annoyed by the grub. He said the convicts wore a very unhealthy cadaverous appearance; owing, it was supposed, not only to spare diet, but to the fatigue consequent on their so continually traversing the woods to Mount Pitt, by night, for the purpose of procuring some slender addition to their ration, instead of reposing after the labours of the day. The governor having discovered that the island abounded with that valuable article lime-stone, was building a convenient house for his own residence, and turning his attention to the construction of permanent store-houses, barracks, and other necessary buildings.

On board the Atlantic came sixty-two persons from Norfolk Island, among whom were several whose terms of transportation had expired; thirteen offenders; and nine marine settlers, who had given up the hoe and the spade, and returned to embrace once more a life to which they certainly were, from long habit, better adapted than to that of independent settlers. They gave up their estate, and returned to Sydney to enter as soldiers in the New South Wales corps.

Very few of the convicts at Norfolk Island, whose terms of transportation had expired, were found desirous of becoming permanent settlers; the sole object with the greater part of them appearing to be, that of taking ground for the purpose of raising by the sale of the produce a sum sufficient to enable them to pay for their passages to England. The settler to benefit that colony, the *bona fide* settler, who should be a man of some property, must go thither from England; he is not to be looked for among discharged soldiers, ship-wrecked seamen, or quondam convicts. Till such have arrived in New

South Wales, the historian will have little to detail of plentiful harvests or well cultivated lands ; nor must he presume to decide on the capabilities of the country in question.

On the 3d of October the *Britannia* refitted for the Cape of Good Hope ; the officers of the New South Wales corps having engaged the master to proceed thither, and return on their account with a freight of cattle, and such articles as were not to be found in the public store, but which would greatly tend to the comfort of themselves and their soldiers. The master was to receive 2000*l.* for the use of his ship ; and eleven shares of 200*l.* each were subscribed to purchase the stock and other articles. Previous to her departure the Royal Admiral East Indiaman anchored in the cove from England, whence she had sailed on the 30th of May. Her passage from the Cape of Good Hope was the most rapid that had ever been made, being only five weeks and three days from port to port. On board of this ship came stores and provisions for the colony, and one serjeant with twenty privates of the New South Wales corps ; a person to be employed in the cultivation of the country ; another as a master miller ; and a third a master carpenter ; together with two hundred and eighty-nine male, and forty-seven female convicts. She brought in with her a fever, which had been much abated by the extreme attention paid by Captain Bond and his officers to cleanliness, that great preservative of health on board ships, and to providing those who were ill with comforts and necessaries beyond what were allowed for their use during the passage. Of three hundred male convicts which she received on board, ten only died.

At Sydney and Parramatta shops were opened for the sale of the articles of private trade brought out by the Royal Admiral, and a licence was given for the sale of porter ; but, under the cover of this, spirits found their way among the people, and much intoxication was the consequence. Several of the settlers, breaking out from the restraint to which they had been subject, conducted themselves with the great-

est impropriety. The indulgence, which was intended by the Governor for their benefit, was most shamefully abused; and what he suffered them to purchase with a view to their future comfort, was retained among themselves at a scandalous profit; several of the settlers' houses being at this time literally nothing else but porter-houses, where rioting and drunkenness prevailed as long as the means remained.

Towards the latter end of October the convicts received a general serving of clothing, and other necessary articles. To each male were issued two frocks made of coarse and unsubstantial Osnaburghs, in which there were seldom found more than three weeks' wear; two pair of trowsers made of the same slight materials as the frocks; one pair of yarn stockings; one hat; one pair of shoes; one pound of soap; and three needles; a quarter of a pound of thread, and one comb.

The females received each one cloth petticoat; one coarse shift; one pair of shoes; one pair of yarn stockings; one pound of soap; a quarter of a pound of thread; two ounces of pins; six needles; one thimble; and one pair of scissars.

On the 1st of November the Philadelphia brigantine, Mr Thomas Patrickson master, arrived at Port Jackson from Philadelphia, with a cargo consisting chiefly of American beef, wine, rum, gin, some tobacco, pitch, and tar. The governor directed the commissary to purchase such part of her cargo as he thought was immediately wanting in the colony; and five hundred and sixty-nine barrels of American-cured beef, with twenty-seven barrels of pitch and tar, were taken into store; the expence of which amounted to 2629*l.* 11*s.*

Notwithstanding the very long voyage which Captain Patrickson had had, his speculation did not prove very disadvantageous to him. Much of that part of his cargo which was not taken by government, was disposed of among the officers and others of the settlement; and the governor hired his vessel to take provisions to Norfolk Island, giving him 150*l.* for the run.

On the 3d of that month three warrants of emancipation passed the seal of the territory; one of which was in favour of a man who, whatever might have been his conduct when at large in society, had in that country not only demeaned himself with strict propriety, but had rendered essential services to the colony.—George Barrington. He came out in the *Active*, and had on his arrival been placed by the Governor in a situation at Tongabbee, which was likely to attract the envy and hatred of the convicts, in proportion as he might be vigilant and inflexible. He was first placed as a subordinate, and shortly after as a principal watchman; in which situation he was diligent, sober, and impartial; and had rendered himself so eminently serviceable, that the governor had resolved to draw him from the line of convicts; and, with the instrument of his emancipation, he received a grant of thirty acres of land. He was afterwards sworn in a peace-officer. Here was not only a reward for past good conduct, but an excitement to a continuance of it; and Barrington found himself, through the Governor's liberality, though not so absolutely free as to return to England at his own pleasure, yet enjoying the immunities of a free man, a settler, and a civil officer, in whose integrity much confidence was placed.

On the 18th the *Kitty* transport anchored in the cove from England, after a circuitous passage of thirty-three weeks, round by the Rio de Janeiro to the Cape of Good Hope. She had on board when she first sailed thirty female and ten female convicts; but being obliged to put back to Spithead, eight of her ten male convicts found means to make their escape.

About this time Governor Philip signified a determination of quitting his government, and returning to England in the *Atlantic*. To this he was induced by perceiving that his health slowly grew worse. As one of his last acts in the settlement, he ordered one pound of flour to be added to the weekly ration, making three pounds of that article.

The detachment of marines being embarked, Governor Phillip quitted the charge with which he had been intrusted by his sovereign, and in the execution of which he had manifested a zeal and perseverance that alone could have enabled him to surmount the natural and artificial obstacles which the country and its inhabitants had thrown in his way.

The colony had now been established within a few weeks of five years ; and a review of what had been done in cultivation under his Excellency's direction in that time cannot more properly be introduced than at the close of his government.

An accurate survey of the whole ground in cultivation, both on account of the crown, and in the possession of individuals, had been taken by the surveyor-general, and transmitted to England by that ship ; and from the return which he then made, the following particulars were extracted :—

Ground in Cultivation, 16th Oct. 1792:—In wheat 208½ acres—In barley 24—In maize 1186½—Garden ground 121½—Ground cleared of timber 162½.—Total number of acres 1703.

The stock belonging to the public was kept at Parramatta. It consisted of three bulls, two bull-calves, fifteen cows, three calves, five stallions, six mares, one hundred and five sheep, and forty-three hogs. Of the sheep the Governor gave to each married settler one ewe for the purpose of breeding ; and to others he gave such female goats as could be spared.

His Excellency, at embarking on board the *Atlantic*, was received near the wharf where his boat was lying, by Major Grose, at the head of the New South Wales corps, who paid him as he passed the honours due to his rank and situation in the colony. The *Atlantic* sailed the next morning, being the 11th of December.

With the Governor embarked, voluntarily and cheerfully, two natives of the country which he was about to quit, Bennilong and Yem-mer-ra-wan-nie, two men who were much attached to his person, and who withstood at the moment of their departure the united distress of their wives, and the dis-

mal lamentations of their friends, to accompany him to England; a place which they well knew was at a great distance from them.

On board the *Atlantic* likewise went various specimens of the natural productions of the country, timber, plants, animals, and birds. Among the animals were four fine kangaroos, and several native dogs.

CHAP. XIII.

Natives—Stature and Appearance—Habitations—Mode of Living—Courtship and Marriage—Customs and Manners—Government—Ideas of Property—Religion—Superstition—Diseases—Funeral Ceremonies—Dispositions, &c.

IN the preceding narrative it will be seen, that after many untoward occurrences, and a considerable lapse of time, that friendly intercourse with the natives which had been so earnestly desired was at length established; and having never been materially interrupted, these remote islanders frequently visited the inhabitants of Sydney in considerable numbers, without fear or restraint; acquiring their language; readily falling in with their manners and customs; enjoying the comforts of their clothing, and relishing the variety of their food. Both parties thus began by slow degrees to understand each other. We shall therefore offer here a brief sketch of the character and manners of the native tribes adjoining our settlements, by which means our readers will be better able to account for the future actions of this singular race.

Very few men or women among them can be said to be tall, and still fewer were well made. At one time a dwarf, a female, appeared among them, who, when she stood upright, measured about four feet two inches: none of her limbs were disproportioned, nor were her features unpleasant; and she had a child at her back. The other natives seemed to make

her an object of their merriment. In general, indeed almost universally, the limbs of these people were small; of most of them the arms, legs, and thighs were very thin. This, no doubt, is owing to the poorness of their living, which is chiefly on fish; otherwise the fineness of the climate, co-operating with the exercise which they take, might have rendered them more muscular. Those who live on the sea-coast depend entirely on fish for their sustenance; while the few who dwell in the woods subsist on such animals as they can catch. The very labour necessary for taking these animals, and the scantiness of the supply, keep the wood natives in as poor a condition as their brethren on the coast. It has been remarked, that these natives had longer arms and legs than those who lived about Sydney. This might proceed from their being compelled to climb the trees, after honey, and the small animals which resort to them, such as the flying squirrel and opossum, which they effect by cutting with their stone hatchets notches in the bark of the tree of a sufficient depth and size to receive the ball of the great toe. The first notch being cut, the toe is placed in it; and while the left arm embraces the tree, a second is cut at a convenient distance to receive the other foot. By this method they ascend with astonishing quickness; always clinging with the left hand and cutting with the right, resting the whole weight of the body on the ball of either foot. One of the gum trees was observed by a party on an excursion, which was judged to be about one hundred and thirty feet in height, and which had been notched by the natives at least eighty feet.

The features of many of these people were far from unpleasing, particularly of the women; in general, the black bushy beards of the men, and the bone or reed which they thrust through the cartilage of the nose, tended to give them a disgusting appearance; but in the women, that feminine delicacy which is to be found among white people was to be traced even upon their sable cheeks; and, though entire strangers to the comforts and conveniences of clothing, yet

they sought with a native modesty to conceal by attitude what the want of covering would otherwise have revealed: bringing to the recollection of those who observed them,

“ The bending statue which enchants the world,”

though it must be owned, that the resemblance consisted solely in the position.

Both sexes use the disgusting practice of rubbing fish oil into their skins; but they are compelled to this as a guard against the effects of the air, and of mosquitoes, and flies; some of which are large, and bite or sting with much severity. But the oil, together with the perspiration from their bodies, produces, in hot weather, a most intolerable stench. Some of them have been seen with the entrails of fish frying in the burning sun upon their heads, until the oil ran down over their foreheads. To their hair, by means of the yellow gum, they fasten the front teeth of the kangaroo, and the jaw-bones of a large fish; human teeth; pieces of wood, feathers of birds, the tail of the dog, and certain bones taken out of a fish, not unlike human teeth. The natives who inhabit the shore of Botany Bay divide their hair into small parcels, each of which they mat together with gum, and form them into lengths like the thrums of a mop. On particular occasions they ornament themselves with red and white clay; using the former when preparing to fight, the latter for the more peaceful amusement of dancing. The fashion of these adornments was left to each person's taste; and some, when decorated in their very best manner, looked perfectly horrible. Nothing could appear more terrible than a black and dismal face, with a large white circle drawn round each eye, wavy lines down each arm, thigh, and leg; some with chequers daubed and lines drawn over each rib: these presented most spectre-like figures. Previous to either a dance or a combat, they were always found busily employed in these necessary preliminaries. Both sexes are ornamented with scars upon the breast, arms, and back, which are cut with broken pieces of the shell

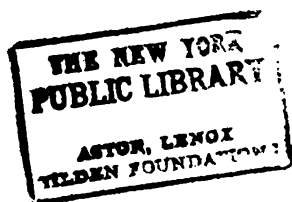
that they use at the end of the throwing-stick. By their keeping open these incisions, the flesh grows up between the sides of the wound, and after a time, skinning over, forms a large weal or seam.

The women are early subjected to an uncommon mutilation of the two first joints of the little finger of the left hand. This operation is performed when they are very young, and is done under an idea that these joints of the little finger are in the way when they wind their fishing-lines over the hand. Very few were to be met with who had not undergone this ceremony, and these appeared to be held in contempt.

Few deformities of person were noticed among them; once or twice the print of inverted feet have been found on the sand. Round shoulders or hump-backs were never observed in any one instance, yet no women could be more inattentive to their young than these savages; frequent instances occurred of infants rolling into the fire, and being dreadfully burnt, while their mother slept beside them; indeed, these people are extremely difficult to awaken when once asleep.

Their sight is peculiarly fine; indeed, their existence very often depends upon the accuracy of it; for a short-sighted man (a misfortune unknown among them, and not yet introduced by fashion, nor relieved by the use of glass) would never be able to defend himself from their spears, which are thrown with amazing force and velocity.

The colour of these people is not in all cases the same: some have been seen who, even when cleansed from the smoke and filth which were always to be found on their persons, were nearly as black as the African negro; while others have exhibited only a copper or Malay colour. The natural covering of their heads is not wool, as in most other black people, but hair; this was particularly remarked in Bennilong after his return from England, where some attention to his dress had been paid; he was found to have long black hair: black, indeed, was the general colour, though some few were seen to have it of a reddish cast.



Engraved for the History of New South Wales.



Their noses are flat, nostrils wide, eyes much sunk in the head, and covered with thick eye-brows; in addition to which, they wear tied round the head, a net, the breadth of the forehead, made of the fur of the opossum, which, when wishing to see very clearly, they draw over their eye-brows, thereby contracting the light. Their lips are thick, and the mouth extravagantly wide; but when opened discovers two rows of white, even, and sound teeth. Many have very prominent jaws.

Their habitations are as rude as imagination can conceive. The hut of the woodman is made of the bark of a single tree, bent in the middle, and placed on its two ends on the ground, affording shelter to only one miserable tenant. These they never carry about with them. On the sea coast the huts were larger, formed of pieces of bark from several trees put together in the form of an oven, with an entrance, and large enough to hold six or eight people. Their fire was always at the mouth of the hut, rather within than without; and the interior was in general the most nasty smoke-dried place that can be conceived. Besides these bark huts, they made use of excavations in the rocks. At the mouths of these excavations was noticed a luxuriancy of soil; and on turning up the ground, it was found rich with shells and other manure. These proved a valuable resource to the settlement; as many loads of shells were burnt into lime, while the other parts were wheeled into the gardens.

In their huts and their caves they lie down indiscriminately mixed, men, women, and children together; and appear to possess under them much the same enjoyment as may be supposed to be found by the brute beast in his den, shelter from the weather, and, if not disturbed by external enemies, the comforts of sleep.

The extreme soundness with which they sleep invites jealousy, or revenge for other wrongs, to arm the hand of the assassin. Many instances of this occurred; one of which was rendered remarkable by the murderer first taking a sleeping

infant from the arms of the father whom he was about to deprive of existence ; the child he brought to Sydney to be taken care of.

Being themselves sensible of the danger they were in while asleep, they eagerly sought to obtain puppies of the spaniel and terrier breeds from the settlers, which they considered as invaluable guardians during the night.

The natives on the sea-coast, and who are the most known, have little other support than fish. Men, women, and children, are employed in procuring them ; but the means used are different according to the sex of the fisher ; the men killing them with the fiz-gig, while the females use the hook and line. The fiz-gig is made of the wattle ; has a joint in it, fastened by gum ; is from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and armed with four barbed prongs ; the barb being a piece of bone secured by gum.

The lines used by the women are made by themselves of the bark of a small tree which they find in the neighbourhood. Their hooks are made of the mother-of-pearl oyster, which they rub on a stone until it assumes the shape that they want. Though these hooks are not barbed, they catch fish with them with great facility. "We have sometimes seen (says Captain Hunter), in fine weather, a man lying across a canoe, with his face in the water, and his fiz-gig immersed, ready for darting : in this manner he lies motionless, and by his face being a little under the surface, he can see the fish distinctly ; but were his eyes above, the tremulous motion of the surface, occasioned by every light air of wind, would prevent his sight : in this manner they strike at the fish with so much certainty, that they seldom miss their aim. The women are chiefly employed in the canoes, with lines and hooks ; the lines appear to be manufactured from the bark of various trees which we found here, of a tough stringy nature, and which, after being beaten between two stones for some time, becomes very much like, and of the same colour as a quantity of oakum, made from old rope : this they spin and twist into two strands :

in fact, I never saw a line with more than two. Their hooks are commonly made from the inside of different shells, or mother-of-pearl; the talons of birds, such as those of hawks, they sometimes make this use of; but the former are considered as best. In this necessary employment of fishing, we frequently saw a woman with two or three children in a miserable boat, the highest part of which was not six inches above the surface of the water, washing almost in the edge of a surf, which would frighten an old seaman to come near, in a good and manageable vessel. The youngest child, if very small, lies across the mother's lap, from whence, although she is fully employed in fishing, it cannot fall; for the boat being very shallow, she sits in the bottom, with her knees up to her breast, and between her knees and body the child lies perfectly secure. The men also dive for shell-fish, which they take off from the rocks under water; we frequently saw them leap from a rock into the surf or broken water, and remain a surprising time under: when they rise to the surface, whatever they have gathered they throw on shore, where a person attends to receive it, and has a fire ready kindled for cooking. They have no other method of dressing their food than that of broiling. Boiling water they have no conception of, for when one of the boats was hauling the seine, one of the sailors had put a pot on the fire ready to dress some fish, and when the water was boiling some fish were put in; but several natives, who were near, and who wished to have more fish than had been given them, seeing the fish put into the pot, and no person watching them, a native put his hand into the boiling water to take the fish out, and was of course scalded, and exceedingly astonished."

While fishing, the women sing. In their canoes they always carry a small fire laid upon sea-weed or sand, with which, when desirous of eating, they dress their meal.

The woods, exclusive of the animals which they occasionally find in their neighbourhood, afford them but little sustenance; a few berries, the yam and fern-root, the flowers of

the different banksia, and at times some honey, make up the whole vegetable catalogue.

The natives who live in the woods, and on the margins of rivers, are compelled to seek a different subsistence, and are driven to a harder exercise of their abilities to procure it; one instance of which has been given in the manner of their climbing the trees: they have, besides, a laborious method of ensnaring animals.

These wood natives make a paste formed of the fern-root and the ant bruised together; in the season, they also add the eggs of this insect.

How will the refined ear of gallantry be wounded at the reading an account of the courtship of these people! It has been said, that there was a delicacy visible in the manners of the females. Is it not shocking then to think, that the prelude to love should be violence? yet such it is in their country, and violence of the most brutal nature. These unfortunate victims of lust and cruelty (it will admit of no better term), are, it is believed, always selected from the women of a different tribe from that of the males, (for they ought not to be dignified with the title of men,) and with whom they are at enmity. Secrecy is necessarily observed, and the poor wretch is stolen upon in the absence of her protectors. Being first stupified with blows, inflicted with clubs or wooden swords, on the head, back, and shoulders, every one of which is followed by a stream of blood, she is then dragged through the woods by one arm, with a perseverance and violence that it might be supposed would displace it from its socket. The lover, or rather ravisher, is regardless of the stones or broken pieces of trees which may lie in his route, being anxious only to convey his prize, in safety, to his own party, where a scene ensues too shocking to relate. This outrage is not resented by the relations of the female, who only retaliate by a similar outrage when they find an opportunity. This is so constantly the practice among them, that even the children make it a play-game or exercise.

The women thus ravished become their wives, are incorporated into the tribes to which their husbands belong, and but seldom quit them for others.

Many of the men do not confine themselves to one woman. Bennillong, previous to his visit to England, was possessed of two wives, both living with him and attending on him wherever he went. One, named Ba-rang-a-roo, lived with him at the time he was seized and taken a captive to the settlement; and before her death he had brought off from Botany Bay, by the violence before described, Go-roo-bar-roo-bool lo; and she continued with him until his departure from England. It was understood that all the natives on the banks of the Hawkesbury had two wives; and indeed, on the whole, more instances were known of plurality of wives than of monogamy. In no one instance had they been observed to have children by both women; and in general, as might be expected, the two females were always jealous of, and quarrelling with each other; though it was understood, that the first wife claimed a priority of attachment, and an exclusive right to the conjugal embrace; while the second or latter choice was compelled to be the drudge and slave of both.

Chastity was a virtue in which, certainly, neither sex prided themselves; yet the females, having discovered that the white people thought it shameful to be seen naked, became, at least many of them, extremely delicate and reserved in this respect when before them; but when in the presence of only their own people, they were perfectly indifferent about their appearance.

During the time of parturition these people suffer none but females to be present. War-re-weer, Bennillong's sister, being taken in labour while in the town, an opportunity offered of observing them in that critical juncture; of which some of the women, who were favourites with the girl, were desired to avail themselves; and from them were obtained the following particulars:—

During her labour one female was employed in pouring

cold water from time to time on the abdomen, while another, tying the end of a small line round War-re-weer's neck, with the other end rubbed her own lips until they bled. She derived no actual assistance from those about her, the child coming into the world by the sole effort of nature; neither did any one receive it from her; but one of the white women divided the umbilical cord and washed the child, which the mother readily permitted, although the other natives strongly objected to it. The poor creature appeared much exhausted.

Bennillong's wife, a few hours after she had been delivered of a child, was seen walking about alone and picking up sticks to mend her fire. The infant, whose skin appeared to have a reddish cast, was lying in a piece of soft bark on the ground.

The child thus produced is by the mother carried about for some days on a piece of soft bark, and, as soon as it acquires strength enough, is removed to the shoulders, where it sits with its little legs across her neck; and, taught by necessity, soon catches hold of her hair, to preserve itself from falling.

The reddish cast of the skin soon gives place to the natural hue; a change that is much assisted by the smoke and dirt in which, from the moment of their existence, these little wretches are nurtured. The parents begin early to decorate them after the custom of the country; for as soon as the hair of the head can be taken hold of, fish bones and teeth of animals are fastened to it with gum. White clay ornaments their little limbs; and the females suffer the extraordinary amputation which they term *Mal-gun* before they have quit-
ted their seat on their mother's shoulders.

At about a month or six weeks old the child receives its name. This is generally taken from some of the objects constantly before their eyes, such as a bird, a beast, or a fish, and is given without any ceremony.

From their earliest infancy the boys are accustomed to throwing the spear, and to the habit of defending themselves from it. They begin by throwing reeds at each other, and are soon very expert. They also, from the time when they

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can run, until prompted by manhood to realize their sports, amuse themselves with stealing the females, and treat them at this time very little better than they do then.

Between the ages of eight and sixteen, the males and females undergo the operation which they term *Gna-noong*, viz. that of having the septum of the nose bored, to receive a bone or reed, which among them is deemed a very great ornament, though the articulation is frequently rendered very imperfect by it. Between the same years also the males receive the qualifications which are given to them by losing one front tooth. Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, several years Judge Advocate and Secretary of the colony, was so fortunate as to be present at this remarkable ceremony. We will detail the most interesting circumstances which he noted.

On the 25th of January, 1795, the natives assembled in considerable numbers, for the purpose of performing this ceremony; as several youths well known in the settlement, never having submitted to the operation, were now to be made men. *Pe-mul-wy*, a wood native, and many strangers, came in; but the principals in the operation not being arrived from *Cammer-ray*, the intermediate nights were to be passed in dancing; for which purpose they were ornamented in their best manner, and certainly displayed a variety of tastes. One was painted white to the middle, his beard and eyebrows excepted, others were distinguished by large white circles round the eyes, which rendered them as terrific as can be well imagined. It was not until the second of February that the party was complete. In the evening of that day the people from *Cammer-ray* arrived, among whom were those who were to perform the operation. They were painted after the manner of their country, were mostly provided with shields, and all armed with clubs, spears, and throwing sticks. The place selected for this extraordinary exhibition was at the head of *Farm Cove*, where a space had been for some days prepared by clearing it of grass, stumps, &c.; it was an oval figure,

the dimensions of it 27 feet by eighteen, and was named Yoo-lahng.

When Colonel Collins reached the spot, he found the party from the North Shore armed, and standing at one end of it; at the other were the boys who were to be given up for the purpose of losing each a tooth, with their several friends who had accompanied them.

The ceremony then began. The armed party advanced from their end of the Yoo-lahng, with a song or rather a shout peculiar to the occasion, clattering their shields and spears, and raising a dust with their feet that nearly obscured the objects around them. On reaching the children one of the party stepped from the crowd, and seizing his victim returned with him to his party, who received him with a shout louder than usual, placing him in the midst, where he seemed defended by a grove of spears from any attempts that his friends might make to rescue him. In this manner the whole were taken out, to the number of fifteen; these were seated at the upper end of the Yoo-lahng, each holding down the head; his hands clasped, and his legs crossed under him. In this position, awkward and painful as it must have been, it was said they were to remain all night; and, until the ceremony was concluded, they were neither to look up nor take any refreshment whatsoever.

The Carrahdís now began some of their mystical rites. One of them suddenly fell upon the ground, and, throwing himself into a variety of attitudes, accompanied with every gesticulation that could be extorted by pain, appeared to be at length delivered of a bone, which was to be used in the ensuing ceremony. He was during this apparently painful process encircled by a crowd of natives, who danced around him, singing vociferously, while one or more beat him on the back until the bone was produced, and he was thereby freed from his pain.

He had no sooner risen from the ground, exhausted, drooping, and bathed in sweat, than another went through the same

ceremonies, and ended also with the production of a bone, with which he had prudently provided himself, and concealed it in a girdle that he wore. By these mummeries the boys were assured that the ensuing operation would be attended with little pain, and that the more these Carrahdís suffered, the less would be felt by them.

¶ Next morning, after day-light, Colonel Collins found the natives sleeping in small detached parties; and it was not until the sun had shown himself that any of them began to stir. The people of the North Shore slept by themselves, and the boys, though it had been said they were not to move, were lying also by themselves. Soon after sun-rise, the Carrahdís and their party advanced in quick movements towards the Yoo-lahng, one after the other, shouting as they entered, and running twice or thrice round it. The boys were then brought to the Yoo-lahng, hanging their heads and clasping their hands. On being seated in this manner the ceremonies began, the principal performers in which appeared to be about twenty in number, and all of the tribe of Cam-mer-ray.

The exhibitions now performed were numerous and various; but all of them in their tendency pointed towards the boys, and had some allusion to the principal act of the day, which was to be the concluding scene of it. The young men, fifteen in number, were seated at the head of the Yoo-lahng, while those who were to be the operators paraded several times round it, running upon their hands and feet, and imitating the dogs of the country. Their dress was adapted to this purpose; the wooden sword stuck in the hinder part of the girdle which they wore round the waist, did not, when they were crawling on all-fours, look much unlike the tail of the dog curled over his back. Every time they passed the place where the poor dismal-looking boys were seated, they threw up the sand and dust on them with their hands and their feet. During this ceremony the boys continued perfectly still and silent, never once moving themselves from the position in which they were placed, nor seeming in the least

to notice the ridiculous appearance of the Carrahdis and their associates. It was understood, that by this ceremony power over the dog was given to them, and that it endowed them with whatever good or beneficial qualities that animal might possess.

The next scene was opened by a stout robust native carrying on his shoulders a kangaroo made of grass, and another carrying a load of brush-wood. The others sung and beat time to the steps of the two loaded men, who appeared as if they were almost unable to move under the weight of the burthen which they carried on their shoulders. Halting every now and then, and limping, they at last deposited their load at the feet of the young men, and retired from the Yoolahng, as if they were excessively fatigued by what they had done. It must be noticed, that the man who carried the brushwood had thrust one or two flowering shrubs through the septum of the nose. He exhibited an extraordinary appearance in the scene. By this offering of the dead kangaroo was meant the power that was now given them of killing that animal; the brush-wood might represent its haunt.

The boys were left seated at the Yoolahng for about an hour; during which the actors went down into a valley near the place, where they fitted themselves with long tails made of grass, which they fastened to the hinder part of their girdles, instead of the sword, which was laid aside during the scene. Being equipped, they put themselves in motion as a herd of kangaroos, now jumping along, then lying down and scratching themselves, as those animals do when basking in the sun. One man beat time to them with a club on a shield, while two others, armed, attended them all the way, pretending to steal upon them unobserved and spear them. This was emblematical of one of their future exercises, the hunting of the kangaroo. The scene was altogether whimsical and curious; the valley where they equipped themselves was very romantic, and the occasion perfectly novel.

On the arrival of this curious party at the Yoo-lahng, it passed by the boys as the herd of kangaroos; and then, quickly divesting themselves of their artificial tales, each man caught up a boy, and placing him on his shoulders, carried him off in triumph toward the last scene of this extraordinary exhibition. It must be remarked, that the friends and relations of the young people by no means interfered, nor attempted to molest these North Shore natives in the execution of their business.

After walking a short distance, the boys were let down from the shoulders of the men, and placed in a cluster, standing with their heads inclined on their breasts, and their hands clasped together. Some of the party now disappeared for above ten minutes, to arrange the figure of the next scene. Colonel Collins was not admitted to witness this business, about which they appeared to observe a greater degree of mystery and preparation than he had noticed in either of the preceding ceremonies. He was at length, however, desired to come forward, when he found the boys with their attendants placed apart, and fronting them two men, one seated on the stump of a tree bearing another man on his shoulders, both with their arms extended. Behind these were seen a number of bodies lying with their faces toward the ground, as close to each other as they could lie, and at the foot of another stump of a tree were placed two other figures in the same position as the preceding.

As the boys and their attendants approached the first of these figures, the men who formed it began to move themselves from side to side, lolling out their tongues; and staring as widely and horribly with their eyes as they possibly could. After this mummerly had continued some minutes, the men separated for them to pass, and the boys were now led over the bodies lying on the ground. These immediately began to move, writhing as if in agony, and uttering a mournful dismal sound, like very distant thunder. Having passed over these bodies, the boys were placed before the second figures,

who went through the same series of grimaces as those who were seated on the former stump; after which the whole moved forward.

A particular name, boo-roo-moo-roong, was given to this scene; but of its import very little could be learned. To the inquiries made respecting it no answer could be obtained, but that it was very good; that the boys would now become brave men; that they would see well and fight well.

At a little distance from the preceding scene the whole party halted; the boys were seated by each other, while opposite to them were drawn up in a half circle the other party, now armed with the spear and shield. In the centre of this party, with his face toward them, stood Boo-der-ro, the native who had throughout taken the principal part in the business. He held his shield in one hand, and a club in the other, with which he gave them, as it were, the time for their exercise. Striking the shield with the club, at every third stroke the whole party poised and presented their spears at him, pointing them inwards, and touching the centre of his shield.

This concluded the ceremonies previous to the operation; and it appeared significant of an exercise which was to form the principal business of their lives, the use of the spear.

They now commenced their preparations for striking out the tooth. The first subject they took was a boy of about ten years of age; and he was seated on the shoulders of another native, who sat on the grass, as appears in this plate.

The bone was now produced, which had been pretended to be taken from the stomach of the native the preceding evening; this, being made very sharp and fine at one end, was used for lancing the gum; and but for some such precaution it would have been impossible to have extracted the tooth without breaking the jaw-bone. A throwing-stick was now to be cut eight or ten inches from the end; and, to effect this, much ceremony was used. The stick was laid upon a tree, and three attempts to hit it were made before it was struck, The wood being very hard, and the instrument a

bad tomahawk, it took several blows to divide it; but three feints were constantly made before each stroke. When the gum was properly prepared, the operation began: the smallest end of the stick was applied as high upon the tooth as the gum would admit of, while the operator stood ready with a large stone apparently to drive the tooth down the throat of the patient. Here their attention to the number three was again manifest; no stroke was actually made until the operator had thrice attempted to hit the throwing-stick. They were full ten minutes about this first operation, the tooth being, unfortunately for the boy, fixed very firm in the gum. It was at last forced out, and the sufferer was taken to a little distance, where the gum was closed by his friends, who now equipped him in the style that he was to appear in for some days. A girdle was tied round his waist, in which was stuck a wooden sword; a ligature was put round his head, in which were stuck slips of the grass-gum tree; which, being white, had a curious and not unpleasing effect. The left hand was to be placed over the mouth, which was to be kept shut; he was on no account to speak; and for that day he was not to eat. In like manner were all the others treated, except one, a pretty boy about eight or nine years of age, who, after suffering his gum to be lanced, could not endure the pain of more than one blow with the stone, and breaking from them, made his escape. During the whole of the operation, the assistants made the most hideous noise in the ears of the patients, sufficient to distract their attention, and to drown any cries that they could possibly have uttered; but they made it a point of honour to bear the pain without a murmur.

Some other peculiarities, however, were observed. The blood that issued from the lacerated gum was not wiped away, but suffered to run down the breast, and fall upon the head of the man on whose shoulders the patient sat, and whose name was added to his. This blood remained dried upon the heads of the men, and breasts of the boys for several days. The boys were also termed Ke-bar-ra, a name which has reference

in its construction to the singular instrument used on this occasion, *Kebah* in their language signifying a rock or stone:

After this part of the ceremony was finished, all the young men were seated in order upon the trunk of a tree. Suddenly, on a signal being given, they all started up, and rushed into the town, driving before them men, women, and children, who were glad to get out of their way. They were now received into the class of men; were privileged to wield the spear and the club, and to oppose their persons in combat; and might now seize such females as they chose for wives. All this, however, must be understood to import, that by having submitted to the operation, having endured the pain of it without a murmur, and having lost a front tooth, they received a qualification which they were to exercise whenever their years and their strength should be equal to it.

Bennillong's sister, and *Da-ring-ha*, *Cole-be's* wife, hearing Colonel Collins express a great desire to be possessed of some of these teeth, procured three of them for him. They were given with much secrecy, and great dread of being observed, and with an injunction that it should never be known that they had made him such a present, as the *Cam-mer-ray* tribe, to whom they were to be given, would not fail to punish them for it; and they added that they should tell them the teeth were lost.

One of the boys who had undergone the operation had formerly lived with the principal surgeon of the settlement till that gentleman's departure for England. A female relation of this boy brought his tooth to Colonel Collins, with a request that he would send it to Mr White; thus with gratitude remembering, after the lapse of some years, the attention which that gentleman had shewn to her relative. These women, however, urged him to quit the place, as they did not know what might ensue. He had, indeed, observed the natives arming themselves; much confusion and hurry was visible among them, and the savage appeared to be predominating; as he retired, the signal was given, which animated the boys

to the first exercise of the spirit which the business of the day had infused into them; and they rushed into the town in the manner before described, every where as they passed along setting the grass on fire.

Those medical gentlemen to whom the teeth were shewn, declared that they could not have been better extracted, had the proper instrument been used by the hand of the dentist, instead of a stone and piece of wood in that of a savage.

On a view of all these circumstances, we should not consider this ceremony in any other light than as a tribute, were we not obliged to hesitate, by observing that all the people of Cam-mer-ray, which were those who extracted the tooth, were themselves proofs that they had submitted to the operation, every one of them having lost the front tooth. Bennilong, in their early acquaintance with him and his language, told his friends, as they then thought, that a man of the name of Cam-mer-ra-gai wore all the teeth about his neck. But it was afterwards found that this term was only the distinguishing title of the tribe which performed the ceremonies incident to the operation. Bennilong at other times told them, that his own tooth was *bour-bil-ley pe-mul*, buried in the earth, and that others were thrown into the sea.

Being thus entered on the "valued file", they quickly assume the consequence due to the distinction, and as soon as possible bring their faculties into action. The procuring of food really seems to be but a secondary business with them; the management of the spear and the shield, dexterity in throwing the various clubs that they have in use among them, agility in either attacking or defending, and a display of the constancy with which they endure pain, appearing to rank first among their concerns in life. The females too are accustomed to bear on their heads the traces of the superiority of the males, with which they dignify them almost as soon as they find strength in the arm to imprint the mark. Some of these unfortunate beings have been seen with more scars upon their shorn heads, cut in every direction, than could be

well distinguished or counted. The condition of these women is so wretched, that it is scarcely possible for a thinking mind to forbear, on seeing a female infant, from anticipating its future miseries, and feeling regret that the Almighty disposer had permitted it to enter a world where its only portion was to be suffering.

Notwithstanding that they are the mere slaves of men, however, it has generally been found, in tracing the causes of their quarrels, that the women were at the head of them, though in some cases remotely. They mingled in all the contests of the men; and one of these, that was in the beginning attended with some ceremony, was opened by a woman.

As they had chosen a clear spot near the town for the scene of action, they were, numerously attended from that place. The contending parties consisted mostly of those natives well known at Sydney, and some from the south shore of Botany Bay. The visitants repaired to the spot an hour before sun-set, and found them seated opposite each other on a level piece of ground between two hills. As a prelude to the business, the Sydney natives, after having waited some time, stood up, and each man stooping down took water in the hollow of his hand, (the place just before them being wet,) which he drank. An elderly woman, with a cloak on her shoulders made of opossum skins very neatly sewn together, and provided with a club, then advanced from the opposite side, and, uttering much abusive language at the time, ran up to Colebe, who was on the right, and gave him a severe blow on the head, which with seeming contempt he held out to her for the purpose. She went through the same ceremony with the rest, who made no resistance, until she came up to Ye-ra-ni-be, a very fine boy, who stood on the left. He, not admiring the blows that his companions received, which were followed by blood, struggled with her; and had he not been very active she would have stabbed him with his own spear, which she wrested from him. The men now advanced, and gave the lookers-on many opportunities of witnessing the strength and

dexterity with which they threw their spears, and the quickness of sight which was requisite to guard against them. The contest lasted until dark, when throwing the spear could no longer be accounted fair, and they beat each other with clubs, until they left off by mutual consent. In this part of the contest many severe wounds were given, and much blood was drawn from the heads of each party; but nothing material happened while they had light enough to guard against the spear. In the exercise of this weapon they are very expert, and have been seen to strike with certainty at the distance of seventy measured yards. They are thrown with great force, and where they are barbed are very formidable instruments.

The throwing-stick is about three feet long, with a hook at one end, and a shell at the other, secured by gum; and this stick remains in the hand after discharging the spear. There are two kinds of them; one is armed with the shell of a clam, which they use for the same purposes as we do a knife; the other has a hook, but no shell, and is rounded at the end. With this they dig the fern-root and yam out of the earth. They have a variety of spears, some are only pointed, others have one or more barbs, and some are armed with pieces of broken oyster-shell. Of shields they have two sorts; one cut from the bark of the gum-tree, which is not capable of resisting the spear like the other, which is made of solid wood, and hardened by fire; but it is not so much used on account of its great weight. Of clubs they have several sorts; one of which is of very large dimensions. They have yet another instrument, which they call Ta-war-rang. It is about three feet long, is narrow, but has three sides, in one of which is the handle, hollowed by fire. The other sides are rudely carved with curved and waved lines, and it is made use of in dancing, being struck upon for this purpose with a club. These, with a stone hatchet, make the whole of their weapons; in which, it was observed, each of the principal tribes had something peculiar, by which it was known to what part of the country they belonged. The same peculiarity extended

to their fishing-lines, nets, and even to their dances, songs, and dialect.

The shedding of blood, among these savages, is always followed by punishment; the party offending being compelled to expose his person to the spears of all those who choose to throw at him; for in such punishments the ties of consanguinity or friendship are of no avail. On the death of a person, whether male or female, old or young, the friends of the deceased must be punished, as if the death was occasioned by their neglect. This is sometimes carried farther than can be reconcilable with humanity, as the following instance will confirm:—

A native had been murdered. His widow, being obliged to avenge his death on some of the relations of the murderer, and meeting with a little girl, who was someway related to him, took her to a retired place, where, with a club and a pointed stone, she beat her so cruelly that she was taken to the town almost dead. In the head were six or seven deep incisions, and one ear was divided to the bone, which, from the nature of the instrument with which she was beaten, had been greatly injured. The poor child died in a few days. The natives to whom this circumstance was mentioned expressed no concern at it, but seemed to think it quite right, necessary, and inevitable. It was understood that whenever women have occasion for this sanguinary revenge, they never exercise it but on their own sex, not daring to strike a male. The little victim of this revenge had, from her quiet tractable manners, been much beloved in the town; and, which is a singular trait in the inhumanity of this proceeding, had, from the death of the man, requested that his widow might be fed at the officer's hut, where she herself resided. Savage indeed must be the custom and the feelings which could arm the hand against this unoffending child's life. Her death was not avenged, perhaps because they considered it as an expiatory sacrifice.

Wat-te-wal, the man who committed the crime for which

this little girl suffered so cruelly, escaped unhurt from the spears of Ben-nil-long, Cole-be, and several other natives; and was afterwards received by them as usual, and actually lived with the murdered man's widow till he was killed in the night by Cole-be.

It now remains to show, what followed where the person died a natural death.

Bone-da, a very fine youth, died of a cold, which settling in his face, terminated in a mortification. It was understood that some blood must be shed on the occasion; and some weeks after a large party of natives belonging to different tribes being assembled at Pan-ner-rong (which in the language of the country signifies blood), the spot where they had often chosen for their battles, after dancing and feasting over night, early in the morning, Mo-roo-ber-ra the brother, and Cole-be, another relation of the dead youth, seized upon a lad named Tar-ra-bil-long, and with a club each gave him a wound in his head which laid his skull bare. The sister of Bone-da had her share in the bloody rite, pushing at the guiltless boy with a short spear, and leaving him in such a state, that the surgeons of the settlement pronounced, from the nature of his wounds, that his recovery was rather doubtful. On being spoke to about the business, he said he did not weep or cry out like a boy, but, like a man, cried Ki-yah when they struck him; that the persons who treated him in this unfriendly manner were no longer his enemies, but would eat or drink or sit with him as friends. A few days after a relation of Bone-da (an old man) received a severe wound on the back of his head, given him on account of the boy's decease; neither youth nor age, kindred nor friendship, appearing to afford any exemption from those sanguinary customs.

When Bennillong's wife died, many spears were thrown and several men wounded. Bennillong himself had a severe contest with Wil-le-mer-ring, whom he wounded in the thigh. He had sent for him as a car-rah-dy to attend her when she was ill; but he either could not or would not obey

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the summons. Bennillong had chosen the time for celebrating these funeral games in honour of his deceased wife, when a whale-feast had assembled a large number of natives together, among whom were several people from the northward, who spoke a dialect very different from that with which they were acquainted at Port Jackson.

Some officers happening once to be present in the lower part of the harbour when a child died, perceived the men immediately retire, and throw their spears at one another with much apparent anger, while the females began their usual lamentations.

When Bennillong's infant child died, several spears were thrown, and Bennillong, at the decease of her mother, said repeatedly that he should not be satisfied until he had sacrificed some one to her manes.

A native having wounded a young woman, the wife of another man, and she having some time after exchanged a perilous and troublesome life for the repose and quiet of the grave, a contest ensued on account of her decease; when the offender was severely wounded, and afterwards led to the hospital by the very man from whom he received his wound.

A combat, occasioned by a Botany Bay native possessing himself of the wife of a Port Jackson savage, took place, which was attended with more ceremony than usual. The delinquent arrived, accompanied by a large party of his own friends, from the south shore of Botany Bay. Many of his associates in arms were entire strangers at Sydney; but the Yoo-lahng was the place of rendezvous.

At night they all danced, that is to say, both parties; but not mixed together: one side waiting until the other had concluded. In the manner of dancing, of announcing themselves as ready to begin, and also in their song, there was an evident difference.

The Sydney natives appeared to have some apprehension of the event not proving favourable to them; for, perceiving an officer present with a gun, one of them strenuously urged

him, if any thing should happen to him, to shoot the Botany Bay black fellows. Some other guns making their appearance, the strangers were alarmed and uneasy, until assured that they were intended merely for the security of those who carried them. The time for this business was just after ten in the forenoon: Car-ra-ey and Cole-be were seated at one end of the Yoo-lahng, each armed with a spear and throwing-stick, and provided with a shield. Here they sat until one of their opponents got up; they then also rose, and put themselves *en garde*. Some of the spears which were thrown at them they picked up and threw back; and others they returned with extraordinary violence. The affair was over before two o'clock, and less mischief than usual had been done. It was understood, however, that another meeting would take place on the same occasion.

In this, as in all contests among them, the point of honour was rigidly observed. But spears were not the only instruments of warfare on these occasions. They had also to combat with words, in which the women sometimes bore a part. During this latter engagement, when any very offensive word met their ears, they would suddenly place themselves in the attitude of throwing the spear, and at times let it drop on the ground without discharging: at others, they threw it with all their strength; but always scrupulously observing the situation of the person opposed, and never throwing at him until he covered himself with his shield. The most unaccountable trait in this business was, the party thrown at providing his enemy with weapons; for they repeatedly, when a spear flew harmless beyond them, picked it up and flung it carelessly back to their adversary. Whether this was done in contempt, or from a scarcity of spears, is uncertain. This rigid attention to the point of honour, when fairly opposed to each other, is difficult to reconcile with their treacherous and midnight murders.

They have great difficulty in procuring fire, and are therefore seldom without it. The process of procuring it is at-

tended with infinite labour, and is performed by fixing the pointed end of a cylindrical piece of wood into a hollow made in a plane; the operator twirling the round piece swiftly between both his hands, sliding them up and down until fatigued, at which time he is relieved by another of his companions, who are all seated for this purpose in a circle, and each one takes his turn until fire is procured.

The frequent fires which were seen in this country was at first a matter of surprize. They were mostly lighted about the month of July, which is the winter in this part of the world. This season, says Captain Hunter, in which fish is so scarce, subjects these poor creatures to great distress, at least we were apt to believe so; they were frequently found gathering a kind of root in the woods, which they broiled on the fire, then beat it between two stones until it was quite soft; this they chew until they have extracted all the nutritive part, and afterwards throw it away. This root appears to be a species of the orchis, or has much of its nutritive quality. Large fires were frequently seen in this season upon some of the hills, and we had been much at a loss to know for what purpose they were so frequently lighted, at this time of the year; but in going down the harbour one day, with an intention to get upon the North Head, for the purpose of ascertaining its exact latitude, we observed on a hill near that point, one of those large fires, which (with the first lieutenant and surgeon who were with me) we determined to visit; and as we thought it might probably be some funeral ceremony, which we were very desirous of seeing, we took our guns, and intended getting up amongst them unperceived; but when we arrived at the place, to our very great disappointment, not a person was to be seen: I believe there were not less than three or four acres of ground all in a blaze; we then conjectured that these fires were made for the purpose of clearing the ground of the shrubs and underwood, by which means they might with greater ease get at those roots which appear to be a great part of their subsistence during the winter. We

had observed that they generally took the advantage of windy weather for making such fires, which would of course occasion their spreading over a greater extent of ground.

Most of their instruments are ornamented with rude carved work, effected with a piece of broken shell; and on the rocks are frequently to be seen various figures of fish, clubs, swords, animals, and branches of trees, not contemptibly represented.

No society can exist without some kind of government, but it is extremely difficult to ascertain the political and civil relations of these people. They are evidently distributed into families, the head or senior of which exacts compliance from the rest. In the early intercourse with them (and indeed at a much later period, on the English meeting with families to whom they were unknown) they were always accosted by the person who appeared to be the eldest of the party; while the women, youths, and children, were kept at a distance. The word which in their language signifies father was applied to their old men; and when, after some time, and by close observation, they perceived the authority with which Governor Phillip commanded, and the obedience which he exacted, they bestowed on him the distinguishing appellation of Be-anna, or father. This title being conferred solely on him (although they perceived the authority of masters over their servants) places the true sense of the word beyond a doubt, and proves that to those among them who enjoyed that distinction belonged to the authority of a chief.

When any of these went into the town, they were immediately pointed out by their companions, or those natives who resided in it, in a whisper, and with an eagerness of manner which, while it commanded the attention of those to whom it was directed, impressed them likewise with an idea that they were looking at persons remarkable for some superior quality even among the savages of New Holland. Another acceptance of the word Be-anna, however, soon became evident; for it was observed to be frequently applied by children to men who were known to have no children. On inquiry, however,

it was understood, that in case a father should die, the nearest of kin, or some deputed friend, would take care of his children; and were by them styled Be-anna; but one particular in their customs is wholly irreconcilable with the humane duties which they have prescribed to themselves in the above instance; duties which relate only to those children who, in the event of losing the mother, could live without her immediate aid. A far different lot is reserved for such as are at that time at the breast, or in a state of absolute helplessness, as will be seen hereafter.

We have mentioned their being divided into families. Each family has a particular place of residence, from which is derived its distinguishing name. This is formed by adding the monosyllable *gal* to the name of the place: thus the southern shore of Botany Bay is called Gwea, and the people who inhabit it stile themselves Gweagal. Those who live on the north shore of Port Jackson are called Cam-mer-ray-gal, that part of the harbour being distinguished from others by the name of Cam-mer-ray. Of this last family, or tribe, the settlers had heard Bennillong and other natives speak (before they were otherwise known) as of a very powerful people; who could oblige them to attend wherever and whenever they directed. They were afterwards found to be by far the most numerous tribe yet discovered.

To the tribe of Cam-mer-ray, as was before observed, belonged the exclusive and extraordinary privilege of exacting a tooth from the natives of other tribes inhabiting the sea coast, or of all such as were within their authority. The exercise of this privilege places these people in a particular point of view; and there is no doubt of their decided superiority. Many contests, or decisions of honour (for such there are among them), have been delayed until the arrival of these people; and when they came, it was impossible not to observe the superiority and influence which their number and their muscular appearance gave them.

Their spears and shields, their clubs and lines, &c. are their

own property; they are manufactured by themselves, and are the whole of their personal estate. But, strange as it may appear, they have also their real estates. Bennillong gave repeated assurances, that the island Me-mel (known at the settlement by the name of Goat Island), close by Sydney Cove, was his own property; that it had been his father's, and that he should give it to By-gone, his particular friend and companion. To this little spot he appeared much attached. He likewise spoke of other persons who possessed this kind of hereditary property, which they retained undisturbed.

It has been asserted by several eminent divines, that no country has yet been discovered where some trace of religion was not to be found. From every observation and inquiry that could be made among these people, they appear an exception to this opinion. It is certain, that they do not worship either sun, moon, or star; that however necessary fire may be to them, it is not an object of adoration; neither have they respect for any particular beast, bird, or fish. Nor could any object ever be discovered, either substantial or imaginary, that impelled them to the commission of good actions, or deterred them from the perpetration of what we deem crimes. There indeed existed among them some idea of a future state, but not connected in anywise with religion; for it had no influence whatever on their lives and actions. On their being often questioned as to what became of them after their decease, some answered that they went either on or beyond the great water; but by far the greater number signified, that they went to the clouds. The author conversing with Bennillong after his return from England, where he had obtained much knowledge of our customs and manners, wishing to learn what were his ideas of the place from which his countrymen came, led him to the subject, by observing, that all the white men at Port Jackson had come from England, and then asked him where the black men (or Eora) came from? He hesitated.—Did they come from any island? His answer was, that he knew of none: they came from the

clouds (alluding, perhaps, to the aborigines of the country) ; and when they died, they returned to the clouds. He seemed desirous to make it understood that they ascended in the shape of little children, first hovering in the tops and in the branches of trees ; and mentioned something about eating (in that state) their favourite food, little fishes.

The young natives who resided at Sydney were very desirous of going to church on Sunday, but knew not for what purpose any one attended. They were often seen to take a book, and with much success imitate the clergyman in his manner (indeed, better or readier mimics can no where be found), laughing and enjoying the applause which they received.

An account has appeared in a pamphlet, or a newspaper, of a native throwing himself in the way of a man who was about to shoot a crow ; and the person who wrote the account drew an inference, that the bird was an object of worship ; but it can be with confidence affirmed, that, so far from dreading to see a crow killed, they are very fond of eating their flesh, and take the following particular method to ensnare that bird : a native will stretch himself on a rock, as if asleep in the sun, holding a piece of fish in his hand ; the bird, be it hawk or crow, seeing the prey, and not observing any motion in the native, pounces on the fish ; and in the instant of seizing it is caught by the savage, who soon throws it on the fire, and makes a meal, that, for enjoyment, might be envied by an epicure.

That they have ideas of a distinction between good and bad, is evident from their having terms in their language significant of these qualities. Thus, the sting-ray was (wee-re) bad ; it was a fish of which they never ate. The patta-go-rang or kangaroo was (bood-yer-re) good, and they were very fond of it.

To exalt these people at all above the brute creation, it is necessary to shew that they have the gift of reason, and that they knew the distinction between right and wrong, as well as

between what food was good and what was bad. Of these latter qualities their senses informed them; but the knowledge of right and wrong could only proceed from reason. It is true, they had no distinction or terms for these qualities; wee-re and blood-yer-re alike implying what was good and bad, and right and wrong. Instances, however, were not wanting, of their using them to describe the sensations of the mind as well as of the senses: thus, their enemies wee-re; their friends blood-yer-re. On being spoken to, of cannibalism, they expressed great horror at the mention, and said it was wee-re. On seeing any of the people who had ill-treated them punished, they expressed their approbation, by saying it was blood-yer-re. Midnight murders, though frequently practised among them whenever passion or revenge dictated, they reprobated, but applauded acts of kindness and generosity; for of both these they were capable. A man who would not stand to have a spear thrown at him, but ran away, was a coward, jee-run, and wee-re. But their knowledge of the difference between right and wrong certainly never extended beyond their existence in this world; not leading them to believe that the practice of either had any relation to their future state: this was manifest from their idea of quitting this world, or rather of entering the next, in the form of little children, under which form they would re-appear in this.

Like all other children of ignorance, these people are the slaves of superstition. The car-rah-dys may be termed the high-priests of superstition. The share which they had in the tooth-drawing scene was not the only instance that induced this belief. After Cole-be was wounded, he accompanied Governor Philip to the banks of the Hawkesbury, and met with a car-rah-dy, who, with much gesticulation and mummerly, pretended to extract the barbs of two spears from his side, which never had been left there, or, if they had, required rather the aid of the knife than his incantations to extract them; but his patient was satisfied and thought himself perfectly cured.

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During the time that Boo-roong, a native girl, lived at Sydney, she paid occasional visits to the lower part of the harbour. From one of these she returned extremely ill. On being questioned as to the cause, for none was apparent, she said that the women of Cam-mer-ray had made water in a path which they knew she was to pass, and it had made her ill. These women were inimical to her, as she belonged to the Botany Bay district. On her intimating to them that she found herself ill, they told her triumphantly what they had done. Not recovering, though bled by a surgeon, she underwent an extraordinary and superstitious operation, where the operator suffers more than the patient. She was seated on the ground, with one of the lines worn by the men passed round her head once, taking care to fix the knot in the centre of her forehead; the remainder of the line was taken by another girl, who sat at a small distance from her, and with the end of it fretted her lips until they bled very copiously; Boo-roong imagining all the time that the blood came from her head, and passed along the line until it ran into the girl's mouth. This operation they term be-an-ny, and it is the peculiar province of the women.

Another curious instance of their superstition occurred among some of our people belonging to a boat that was lying wind-bound in the lower part of the harbour. They had procured some shell-fish, and during the night were preparing to roast them, when they were observed by one of the natives, who shook his head, and exclaimed, that the wind for which they were waiting would not rise if they roasted the fish. His argument not preventing the sailors from enjoying their treat, and the wind actually proving foul, they, in their turn, gave an instance of their superstition by abusing the native, and attributing to him the foul wind which detained them. On questioning the savage respecting this circumstance, it appeared that they never broiled fish by night. These people tell a story of a rock falling on and crushing some natives who

were whistling under it ; for which reason they make it an invariable rule never to whistle when beneath a rock.

Among their other superstitions was one which might be naturally expected from their ignorance—a belief in spirits. Of this belief there were several accounts obtained. Ben-ni-long, during his first acquaintance at the settlement, described an apparition as advancing to a person with an uncommon noise, and seizing hold of him by the throat. It came, he said, slowly along with its body bent, and the hands held together in a line with the face, moving on till it seized the party to whom its visit was intended. A general idea prevails among them, that by sleeping at the grave of a deceased person, they would, from what happened to them there, be freed from all future apprehensions respecting apparitions ; for during that awful sleep the spirit of the deceased would visit them, seize them by the throat, and, opening them, take out their bowels, which they would replace and close up the wound. They acknowledged that very few chose to encounter the darkness of the night, the solemnity of the grave, and the visitation of the spirit ; but that such as were so hardy became immediately car-rah-dys, and that all those who exercised this profession had gone through this ceremony.

To the shooting of a star they attach a great degree of importance. Of thunder and lightning they are also much afraid ; but believe that by chaunting some particular words, and breathing hard, they can dispel it.

Those natives who live on the sea-coast, from chiefly feeding on fish, are subject to a disorder greatly resembling the itch ; they term it Djee-ball. It is sometimes very virulent, and renders those afflicted with it extremely loathsome.

In the year 1789 they were visited by a disorder which raged among them with all the appearance of the small-pox. The number that it swept off, by their own accounts, was incredible. A native who at that time resided at Sydney, on going down to the harbour to look for his former companions, was described by those who witnessed his emotions as suffer-

ing the extreme of agony. He looked anxiously into the different coves that they visited; not a vestige on the sand was to be found of human foot; the excavations in the rocks were filled with putrid bodies of those who had fallen victims to the disorder: not a living person was any where to be met with. It seemed as if, flying from the contagion, they had left the dead to bury the dead. He lifted up his hands and eyes in silent agony for some time; at length he exclaimed, "All dead! all dead!" and then hung his head in mournful silence, which he preserved during the remainder of their excursion. Some days after, he learned that the few of his companions who survived had fled up the harbour to avoid the pestilence that so dreadfully raged. This poor fellow's fate has been already mentioned. He fell a victim to his own humanity, when several of his countrymen were taken to the town covered with eruptions of the disorder, which had not confined its effects to Port Jackson; for on visiting Broken Bay the path was in many places covered with skeletons, and the same spectacles were to be met with in the hollows of most of the rocks of that harbour.

Notwithstanding the town of Sydney was at this time filled with children, many of whom visited the natives that were ill of the disorder, not one of them caught it, though a North American Indian belonging to Captain Ball's vessel died of it. To this disorder they gave the name of Gal-gal-la: and that it was the small-pox there was scarcely a doubt; for the person seized with it was affected exactly as Europeans are who have that disorder; and on many that had recovered from it were seen the traces, in some the ravages on the face.

Whenever they feel a pain, they fasten a tight ligature round the part, thereby stopping the circulation, and easing the part immediately affected. It has before been mentioned, that they rapidly recover from their wounds: even a fractured skull confines them but a short time. That their skulls should be frequently fractured can be no matter of wonder, when it is recollected that the club seems to be ap-

plied alone to the head. The women who are struck with this weapon always fall to the ground ; but this seldom happens to the men.

The first peculiarity remarkable in their funeral ceremonies is, the disposal of their dead : their young people they consign to the grave ; those who have passed the middle age are burnt. Bennillong burnt the body of his wife Ba-rang-a-roo, who was, at the time of her decease, turned of fifty. The interment of Ba-loo-der-ry was accompanied with many ceremonies. From being one day in perfect health, he was the next taken to the hospital extremely ill, and attended by Bennillong, who was found singing over him, and making use of those means which ignorance and superstition pointed out to him to recover his health. The patient lay extended on the ground, appearing to be in much pain. Bennillong applied his mouth to those parts of the boy's body which he thought affected, breathing strongly on them, and singing : at times he waved over him some boughs dipped in water, holding one in each hand, and appearing much interested for him. On the following morning he was visited by a car-rah-dy, who had come express from the North Shore. This man threw himself into various distortions, applied his mouth to different parts of his patient's body, and at length, after appearing to labour much, and to be in great pain, spit out a piece of bone (which he had previously procured). Here the farce ended, and the car-rah-dy withdrew to partake of such fare as the friends of the sick lad had to give him. During the night Ba-loo-der-ry's fever increased, and he died early in the following morning. This was immediately notified by a violent clamour among the women and children ; and, Bennillong soon after going to Government-house, it was agreed between him and his Excellency that the body should be buried in his garden.

In the afternoon it was deposited in a hut near the spot, set apart for its reception ; several natives attending, and the women and children lamenting and howling most inharmoni-

niously ; when, without any provocation, two of the men had a contest with clubs ; at the same time a few blows passed between some of the women : spears were also thrown, but evidently as a part of the ceremony, and not with intention of doing injury to any one. At the request of Bennillong, a blanket was laid over the corpse, and Cole-be, his friend, sat by the body all night, nor could be prevailed on to quit it.

They remained silent till one in the morning, when the women began to cry, and continued for some time. At daylight Bennillong brought his canoe to the place, and, cutting it to a proper length, the body was placed in it, with a spear, a fiz-gig, a throwing-stick, and a line which Ba-loo-der-ry had worn round his waist. Some time was occupied in adjusting this business, during which the men were silent ; but the women, boys, and children, uttered the most dismal lamentations. The father stood alone and unemployed, a silent observer of all that was doing about his deceased son, and a perfect picture of deep and unaffected sorrow. Every thing being ready, the men and boys all assisted in lifting the canoe with the body from the ground, and placing it on the heads of two natives ; some of the assistants had tufts of grass in their hands, which they waved backwards and forwards under the canoe, while it was lifting from the ground, as if they were exorcising some evil spirit. As soon as it was fixed on the heads of the bearers, they set off, preceded by Bennillong and another man, both walking with a quick step. Mau-gorran, the father, attended them, armed with his spear and throwing stick, while Bennillong or his companion had only tufts of grass, which, as they went, they waved about, sometimes turning and facing the corpse, at others waving the tufts of grass among the bushes. When they fronted the corpse, the head of which was carried foremost, the bearers made a motion with their heads from side to side, as if endeavouring to avoid the people who fronted them. After proceeding thus to some little distance, Bennillong's companion turned aside from the path, and went up to a bush, into which he

seemed to look very narrowly, as if searching for something that he could not find, and waving about the tufts of grass which he had in either hand. After this fruitless search, they all turned back, and went on in a somewhat quicker pace than before. On their drawing near the spot where the women and children were sitting with the other men, the father threw two spears towards, but (evidently intentionally) short of them. Here Bennillong took his infant child in his arms and held it up to the corpse, the bearers endeavouring to avoid it, as before described. Be-dia Bèdia, the brother of the deceased, a boy of five years of age, was then called for, but came forward very reluctantly, and was presented in the same manner as the other child. After this they proceeded to the grave, which had been prepared in the Governor's garden. Twice they changed the bearer who walked the foremost; but his friend Collins carried him the whole of the way. Yello-way levelled the earth, and then strewed some grass in it; after which he stretched himself at his length in the grave, first on his back and then on his right side. Some drums had attended at the request of Bennillong, and two or three marches were beat while the grave was preparing; he highly approving, and pointing at the time, first to the deceased, and then to the skies, as if there was some connection between them at that moment. On laying the body in the grave, great care was taken so to place it, that the sun might look at it as it passed, the natives cutting down for that purpose every shrub that could at all obstruct the view. He was placed on his right side, with his head to the north-west. When the grave was covered in, several branches of shrubs were placed in a half circle on the south side of the grave, extending them from the foot to the head of it. Grass and boughs were likewise laid on the top of it, and crowned with a large log of wood. This log appeared to be placed there for some particular purpose; for, after strewing it with grass, the placer laid himself on it at his length for some minutes, with his face towards the sky. Every rite having been performed,

the party retired, some of the men first speaking in a mourning tone to the women. Cole-be and Wat-te-wal, who seemed the most particular persons at this ceremony, were painted red and white over the breast and shoulders, and distinguished by the title of Moo-by; and it was understood, that while they were so distinguished they were to be very sparing in their meals.

The spectators were enjoined on no account to mention the name of the deceased; a custom which they rigidly attended to themselves when any one died.

Such were the ceremonies attendant on the interment of Ba-loo-der-ry. When Barang-a-roo Da-ring-ha, Bennillong's wife, died, he determined at once to burn her, and requested the Governor, the Judge Advocate, and the surgeon, to attend him. He was accompanied by his relations and a few others, mostly females.

Collins, the native, prepared the spot whereon the pile was to be constructed, by excavating the ground with a stick, to the depth of three or four inches; and on the part so turned up were first placed small sticks and light brush-wood; larger pieces were then laid on each side of these; and so on till the pile might be about three feet in height, the ends and sides of which were thus formed of dry wood, while the middle of it consisted of small twigs and branches, broken for the purpose and thrown together. When wood enough had been procured, some grass was spread over the pile, and the corpse, covered with an old blanket, was borne to it, and placed with the head towards the north. A basket, with the fishing apparatus and other small furniture of the deceased, was placed by her side; and Bennillong having laid some large logs of wood over the body, the pile was lighted by one of the party. Being constructed of dry wood, it was quickly all in a flame, and Bennillong himself pointed out to his Sydney friends a black smoke which proceeded from the centre of the pile where the body lay, and signified that the fire had reached it. The spot was abandoned long before the last bil-

let was consumed, and Benmillong appeared during the day more cheerful than had been expected, and spoke about finding a nurse from among the white women to suckle his child.

The following day he invited the same party to see him rake the ashes of his wife together, and they attended him to the spot unaccompanied by any of his own people. He preceded his companions in a sort of solemn silence, speaking to no one until he had paid Ba-rang-a-roo the last duties of a husband. In his hand he had the spear with which he meant to punish the car-rah-dy for non-attendance on his wife when she was ill, with the end of which he raked the calcined bones and ashes together in a heap. Then, laying the spear upon the ground, he formed with a piece of bark a tumulus that would have done credit to a well practised grave-digger, carefully laying the earth round, smoothing every little unevenness, and paying a scrupulous attention to the exact proportion of its form. On each side the tumulus he placed a log of wood, and on the top of it deposited the piece of bark with which he had so carefully effected the construction. When all was done, he asked his friends "if it was good," and appeared pleased when assured that it was so.

His deportment on the occasion was solemn and mainly, and expressive silence marked his conduct throughout the scene. The gentlemen attended him as silently, and with close observation. He did not suffer any thing to divert him from the business that he had in hand, nor did he seem to be in the least desirous to have it quickly dispatched; but paid this last rite with an attention that did honour to his feelings as a man, as it seemed the result of an heart-felt affection for the object of it, of whose person nothing now remained but a piece or two of calcined bone. When his melancholy work was ended, he stood for a few moments with his hands folded over his bosom, and his eye fixed upon his labours in the attitude of a man in profound thought.

In conformity to their custom of not pronouncing the name of the deceased, two females called Ba-rang-a-roo lost that,

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and took other names. One of these (Cole-be's wife), survived her but a short time, dying of a consumption brought on by suckling a little girl who was at her breast when she died. This circumstance led to the knowledge of a curious but horrid custom which obtains among these people. The mother died in the town; and when she was taken to the grave, her corpse was carried to the door of every hut and house that she had been accustomed to enter during the latter days of her illness, the bearers presenting her with the same ceremonies as were used at the funeral of Ba-loo-der-ry, when the little girl Dil-boong and the boy Be-dia Bèdia were placed before his corpse.

When the body was laid in the grave, the by-standers were amazed to see the father himself place the living child in it with the mother. Having laid the child down, he threw upon it a large stone, and the grave was instantly filled up by the other natives. The whole business was so momentary, that the visitors had not time or presence of mind to prevent it; and on speaking of it to Cole-be, he, so far from thinking it inhuman, justified the extraordinary act, by saying, that as no woman could be found to nurse the child, it must have died a worse death than that to which he had put it. From similar circumstances afterwards occurring, there is every reason to suppose that the custom always prevails among them; and this may in some degree account for the thinness of population which has been observed among the natives of the country.

To sum up the character of this very remarkable people, —they are revengeful, jealous, courageous, and cunning. Their stealing on each other in the night for the purpose of murder must not be imputed to them as a want of bravery; but as the effect of the diabolical spirit of revenge which is thus sought, to make surer of its object than it could have done if only opposed man to man in the field. Their conduct when thus opposed, the constancy with which they endured pain, and the alacrity with which they accepted a sum-

mons to the fight, are surely proofs of their not wanting courage. They disclaim all idea of any superiority that is not personal; for when Ben-nil-long had a shield, made of tin and covered with leather, presented to him by Governor Phillip, he took it down with him to the harbour, whence he returned without it, saying that he had lost it; but, in fact, it had been taken from him and destroyed by his countrymen, it being deemed unfair to cover himself with such a guard.

They might have been honest before the white people came among them, not having much to covet from one another; but from their new friends they stole every thing that they could. While they only pilfered what could gratify their appetites, it was not to be wondered at; but they would take articles of which they could not possibly know the use.—Early in the settlement, one of them stole a case of instruments from the pocket of one of the medical gentlemen; and could he have been watched to his retreat, there is not a doubt but he would have been seen to lay his booty upon his head, as an ornament, the place to which at first every thing given to them was usually consigned.

That they are not strangers to the occasional practise of falsehood, is apparent from the words truth and falsehood being found in their language; but, independent of this, proofs are not wanting of their being adepts in the arts of evasion and lying; and when doubts have been entertained of some of their tales, they would with much earnestness assert the truth of them; and when speaking of other natives they have as anxiously wished to prove that they had told nothing but lies.

Their talent for mimicry is very great. Even the children made it a favourite diversion to mimic the peculiarities of those whom they saw, which they did with the happiest success. They are susceptible of friendship, and capable of feeling sorrow; but this latter sensation they are not in the habit of encouraging long. At the funeral of a native boy, the father's tears were seen to fall plentifully, though silently,

down his sable cheek; but in a little time they were dried, and the old man's face indicated nothing but the lapse of many years which had passed over his head.

With attention and kind treatment they certainly might be made a very serviceable people; they were frequently employed in the boats belonging to the settlement, and were as handy and as useful as any other persons could have been; some of them were likewise engaged in taking the farmer's stock into the woods, and never failed to bring home the right numbers, though they have not any knowledge of numeration beyond three or four.

Their acquaintance with astronomy is limited to the names of the sun and moon, some few stars, the Magellanic clouds, and the milky way. Of the circular form of the earth they have not the smallest idea; but imagine that the sun returns over their heads during the night to the quarter whence he begins his course in the morning.

As they never make provision for the morrow, except at a whale-feast, they always eat as long as they have any thing left, and when satisfied, stretch themselves out in the sun to sleep, where they remain until hunger or some other cause calls them again into action. The men frequently indulge a great degree of indolence at the expence of the women, who are compelled to sit in their canoe, exposed to the fervour of the mid-day sun, hour after hour, chaunting their little song, and inviting the fish beneath them to take their bait: for without a sufficient quantity to make a meal for their tyrants, who are lying asleep at their ease, they would meet but a rude reception on their landing.

CHAP. XIV.

Regulations adopted by Lieutenant-Governor Grose—Cargo of the American Vessel purchased—Extreme Heat and Conflagration—Deaths in 1792—Various Occurrences—Kangaroo Ground opened—The Shah Hermuzear arrives—Is followed by two Spanish Ships—Civilities passed between the Officers of the two Nations—Plan for conveying Cattle from India—The *Dædalus* arrives—Cattle lost—Discovered by Captain Vancouver—Two natives of New Zealand brought in—Phænomenon in the Sky—Mutiny on Board the *Kitty*—Celebration of his Majesty's Birth-day.

ON the departure of Governor Phillip the government of the colony devolved, by his Majesty's letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, upon the Lieutenant-Governor, Major Francis Grose, of the New South Wales corps. At his taking upon himself the government, on which occasion the usual oaths were administered by the Judge-Advocate, he gave out the following order, regulating the mode of carrying on the duty at Parramatta:—

“All orders given by the Captain who commands at Parramatta, respecting the convicts stationed there, are to be obeyed; and all complaints or reports that would be made to the Lieutenant-Governor when present, are in his absence to be communicated to Captain Foveaux, or such other captain as may be doing duty with the detachment.”

This was substituting the military for the civil officer, which before this period had never been the case; the military power having hitherto been considered as requisite only for the protection of the stores, and the discharge of such duties as belonged to their profession, without any share in the direction of the colony; the commanding officer of the corps or regiment serving in the territory excepted, who held likewise the civil appointment of Lieutenant-Governor. Similar regulations took place at Sydney; and in a few days after they

were enforced by another order, which directed, "that all enquiries by the civil magistrate were in future to be dispensed with, until the Lieutenant-Governor had given directions on the subject; and the convicts were on no account to be punished but by his particular order."

At Sydney it had been usual for the magistrates to take examinations, and make enquiry into the offences, either weekly, or as occasion required, and to order such punishment as they thought necessary, always reporting their proceedings to the chief authority.

It must be noticed, that at this time the civil magistrates in the colony consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Judge-Advocate, who were Justices of the Peace by virtue of their respective commissions; the Rev. Mr Johnson; Augustus Alt and Richard Atkins, Esquires, who had been sworn in as magistrates by authority of the Governor.

As no inconvenience had ever been experienced in the mode which was practised of conducting the business of the settlement, the necessity or cause for these alterations was not directly obvious; and could not be accounted for from any other motive, than that preference which a military man might be supposed to give to carrying on the service by means of his own officers, rather than by any other.

On the 17th a distinction was made for the first time in the ration, the Commissary being directed to issue to the civil and military departments, including superintendants, watchmen, overseers, and settlers from the marines, six pounds of flour, and but two of rice, per week, instead of three pounds of flour and five of rice, which was the allowance of the convicts. This distinction was intended to be discontinued whenever the full ration could be served.

The stock which had been distributed among the settlers by Governor Phillip for the purpose of breeding from, appeared to have been thrown away upon them when viewed as a breeding-stock for settlers. No sooner was the Atlantic out of sight, than the major part of them were offered for

sale; and there was little doubt, that had they not been bought by the officers, in a few weeks most of them would have been destroyed. By this conduct, as far as their individual benefit was concerned, they had put it out of their power to reap the advantage which the Governor intended by his bounty to them; but by this means the stock was saved, and had fallen into hands that certainly would not wantonly destroy it. There were some among the settlers who had exchanged their sheep for goats; but in general they were so ignorant and improvident as to accept of nothing but spirits as the price of what, if properly used, would have been to them invaluable.

About this time they were visited by the *Hope*, an American ship from Rhode Island, with a small cargo of provisions and spirits for sale. The master declared that his putting into harbour was for the purpose of procuring wood and water; thus making the sale of his cargo appear to be but a secondary object with him.

During this month two warrants of emancipation were granted, together with twenty-five acres of land, to Ensign Cummings, of the New South Wales corps. In the instructions for granting lands in that country, no mention of officers had yet been made; it was, however, fairly presumed, that the officers could not be intended to be precluded from the participation of any advantages which the crown might have to bestow in the settlements; particularly as the greatest in its gift, the free possession of land, was held out to people who had forfeited their lives before they were sent into that country.

Among the regulations which took place at Sydney must be noticed the dispensing with the officer's guard which had always mounted there, and the changing the hours of labour. The convicts had more time given to them, for the purpose not only of avoiding the heat of the day, but of making themselves comfortable at home. They were directed to work

from five in the morning until nine; rest until four in the afternoon, and then labour until sun-set.

The weather during December had been extremely hot. On the 5th the wind blew strong from the northward of west; and, to add to the intense heat of the atmosphere, the country was every where on fire. At Sydney, the grass at the back of the hill on the west side of the cove, having either caught or been set on fire by the natives, the flames, aided by the wind, which at that time blew violently, spread and raged with incredible fury. One house was burnt down; several gardens with their fences were destroyed, and the whole face of the hill was on fire, threatening every thatched hut with destruction. The conflagration was, with much difficulty, (notwithstanding the exertions of the military,) got under, after some time, and prevented from doing any further mischief. At different times during this uncomfortable day distant thunder was heard, the air darkened, and some few drops of rain fell. The apparent danger from the fires drew all persons out of their houses; and on going into the parching air, it was scarcely possible to breathe; the heat was insupportable; and vegetation seemed to suffer much, the leaves of many culinary plants being reduced to powder. The thermometer in the shade rose above one hundred degrees. Some rain falling towards evening, this excessive heat abated.

At Parramatta, and Tongabbe, also, the heat was extreme; the country there too was every where in flames. One settler was a great sufferer. The fire had spread to his farm; but, by the efforts of his people and neighbours was got under, and its progress supposed to be effectually checked, when an unluckily spark from a tree, which had been on fire to the topmost branch, flying upon the thatch of the hut where his people lived, it blazed out, and the hut, with all the out-buildings, and thirty bushels of wheat just got into a stack, were in a few minutes destroyed.

There died between the 1st of January and 31st of December, 1792, two of the civil department, six soldiers, four

hundred and eighteen male convicts, eighteen female convicts, and twenty-nine children; one male convict was executed; and three were lost in the woods: making on the whole a decrease of four hundred and eighty-two persons.

The price of stock, grain, and other articles, remained much the same as at the close of the former year; that of fish and vegetables varied from day to day; spirits in exchange were estimated at from twelve to twenty shillings per gallon; porter was sold from nine to ten pounds per hogshead, or from one shilling to one shilling and three-pence per quart.

Divine service was now performed at six o'clock in the morning. For want of a building dedicated to that purpose, many inconveniences were suffered, as well by the clergyman as by those who attended him. The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, did not require the ceremony to be performed more than once a day; and that the health of the convicts might not be injured from the heat of the sun, which at that season of the year was excessive, he directed the church call to be beat at a quarter before six in the morning. The overseers were enjoined to be particularly careful to collect as many of their gangs to attend Mr Johnson, as could conveniently be brought together; for, although it was not wished that the huts should be left without proper persons to look after them, it was nevertheless expected that no idle excuse should keep the convicts from attending divine service.

On the 10th of January, 1793, the Hope sailed for Canton. On the 15th, the signal, which never failed to give satisfaction in the colony, was made at the South Head, and several boats went down; but when night closed, it was only known that a ship was off. A large fire, for the information of the stranger, was made, and at ten the following morning the *Bellona* reached the Cove from England, whence she had sailed on the 8th of August, having on board a cargo of stores and provisions for the colony; seventeen female convicts; five settlers and their families; a person engaged as a

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master millwright, at a salary of 100*l.* per annum, and a master blacksmith. The Quaker families which had been expected for some time had engaged to take their passage in the *Bellona*; but it was said that they had been diverted from their purpose by some misrepresentations which had been made to them respecting the country.

Among other articles by the *Bellona*, five pipes of port wine and a quantity of rum were received, being consigned to the governor, for the purpose of being sold to the officers of the civil and military establishments at prime cost; and three thousand pounds of tobacco, for the use of the soldiers of the garrison, and others.

The shameful impositions which had been practised by many who had carried out articles for sale in the colony, and the advantage which in too many instances had been taken of their necessities, had been properly stated at home, and this measure had been adopted by government for their accommodation. The wine was immediately distributed; coming to the officers, after every expence, at 19*l.* 10*s.* per hogshead, and the rum at five shillings per gallon. The tobacco was likely to remain for some time undisposed of, as a quantity had been before taken to the settlement, and was selling at a lower price than could be taken for that imported by this ship; and tobacco had formed a material article of the different investments in the *Britannia*.

On the landing of the *Bellona*'s cargo, much of it was found to be damaged; the ship had been overloaded, and had met with very boisterous weather on her passage. This practice of crowding too much into one ship, had in many instances been very prejudicial to the colony; in the present instance, of the *Russia Duck* (which government had ordered for the frocks and trowsers of the convicts, instead of the *Osnaburgs* so much complained of,) sixty-eight bales, containing thirteen thousand one hundred and forty-eight yards, and which was most excellent of its kind, were damaged; sixty-nine casks of flour also were found to be much injured.

Of seventy-six hogsheads of molasses, eleven hundred and seventy-two gallons were found to have leaked out; one hundred and ninety-eight gallons of wine, and seventy-nine gallons of rum were deficient, owing to improper stowage; three hundred and thirty-five hammocks, thirteen rugs, five hundred and twenty-seven yards of brown cloths, and one case of stationary, were rendered totally unfit for use. Of these articles, there was not one which in its proper state would not have been most valuable; and when the expence attending their conveyance, the inconvenience that must be felt for the want of every damaged article, and the impossibility of getting them replaced for a great length of time, were considered, it was difficult to ascertain their precise value.

Among the occurrences of the month was the untimely end of two women and a child. These unfortunate people had been drinking with others at Sydney, and were proceeding to Parramatta, in a boat with Williams, the husband of one of the women, when the boat upset, and the man alone was saved, though he had snatched his infant from the wretched mother's grasp before she finally sunk, and brought it to shore; but for want of immediate medical aid, it was soon past the troubles in which a lengthened date would most probably have seen it involved; for its parents had been noted for their depravity; they had been rioting and fighting with each other the moment before they got into the boat. The bodies of these two unfortunate women were found a few days afterwards, when the unfeeling husband buried his wife and child within a very few feet of his own door. The profligacy of this man, indeed, manifested itself in a strange manner: a short time after he had thus buried his wife, he was seen sitting at his door, with a bottle of rum in his hand, and actually drinking one glass and pouring another over her grave until it was emptied, prefacing every libation, by declaring how well she had loved it during her life. He appeared to be in a state of insanity, as this anecdote certainly testifies; but the melancholy fate of those two beings who

ought to have been so dear to him, did not appear to have sat heavy on his heart.

The Lieutenant-Governor proposing to open and cultivate the ground commonly known by the name of Kangaroo ground, situate to the westward of the town of Sydney, between that settlement and Parramatta, a gang of convicts was sent from the latter place for that purpose. The soil here was much better for agriculture than that immediately adjacent to the town of Sydney, and the ground lay well for cultivation; but it had hitherto been neglected, from its being deficient in that grand essential, water, on which account Parramatta had been preferred to it. The eligibility of cultivating it, was now, however, going to be tried; and permission having been received by the Bellona to grant lands to those officers who might desire it, provided the situations of the allotments were such as might be advantageous to *bona fide* settlers hereafter, several officers chose this as the spot which they would cultivate; and allotments of one hundred acres each, were marked out for the clergyman (who, to obtain a grant there, relinquished his right to the land allotted for the minister), for the principal surgeon, and two officers of the corps.

Early in February, the settlers who came out in the Bellona took possession of their grounds. Being all free people, one convict excepted, who was allowed to settle with them; they gave the appellation of "Liberty Plains" to the district in which their farms were situated. The conditions under which they engaged to settle were, "To have their passages provided by government; an assortment of tools and implements to be furnished them from the public stores; to be supplied with two years' provisions; their lands to be granted free of expence; the service of convicts also to be assigned them, and these were likewise to have two years' provisions, and one year's clothing."

Many more officers availed themselves of the assent given by government to their occupying lands, and fixed some at

Parramatta, and others in different parts of the harbour. They began their settlements in high spirits; the necessary tools and implements of husbandry were furnished to them from the stores; and they were allowed each the use of ten convicts. From their exertions the Lieutenant-Governor was sanguine in his hopes of being enabled to increase considerably the cultivation of the country; they appeared, indeed, to enter vigorously into his views; and not being restrained from paying for labour with spirits, they got a great deal of work done at their several farms (on those days when the convicts did not work for the public), by hiring the different gangs; the great labour of burning the timber after it was cut down, required some such extra aid.

On Monday the 25th, the *Shah Hormuzear*, of four hundred tons burthen, arrived from Calcutta, commanded by Mr. Bampton, who had embarked some property on a private speculation. He had on board, when he sailed, one bull, twenty-four cows, two hundred and twenty sheep, one hundred and thirty goats, five horses, and six asses; together with a quantity of beef, flour, rice, wheat, gram, paddy, and sugar; a few pipes of wine, some flat iron, and copper sufficient for the sloop's bottom which had been received in frame by the Pitt; a large quantity of spirits, and some canvas. In the article of stock, however, Mr. Bampton had been unfortunate. His cattle died; of the sheep more than half perished; one horse and three asses died; and very few of the goats survived the voyage, though by no means a long one, having been performed in eight weeks, and in good weather. This mortality evidently did not proceed from any want of proper care, but was to be ascribed to their having been embarked immediately on being taken from the fields, and consequently wanting that stamina which a sea voyage required. The settlement not yet being in possession of that plenty which would have warranted the rejecting of a cargo of provisions, particularly when brought on speculation, this was purchased, although not immediately wanted; but it was considered that

the hour of distress might again arrive, and occasion might occur that would excite a wish, perhaps in vain, for a cargo of provisions from Bengal. In addition to these reasons, it must be remarked, that the different articles which were purchased were of the best quality, and offered on reasonable terms.

On the 13th of March, a Spanish officer arrived at the Governor's house, with information that two ships of his country had anchored in the lower part of the harbour. These proved to be the vessels of whose expected arrival intelligence had been received from England in the year 1790, and to whom it was recommended that every attention should be paid. They were named the *Descuierta* and *Atrevida* (the *Discovery* and *Intrepid*) ; the former commanded by Don Alexandro Malaspina, with a broad pendant as the commander of the expedition, and the latter by Don José de Bustamante y Guerra. They had been three years and a half from Europe on a voyage of discovery and information ; and were now arrived from Manilla, after a passage of ninety-six days ; touching in their way to Sydney at Dusky Bay in New Zealand, which they had left about a fortnight.

On their going up, they anchored just abreast of the two points which formed Sydney Cove, declining to salute, as it was not in the power of the Governor to return it. These ships were of three hundred and five tons burthen each, and were built for the particular voyage on which they were sent. They were well manned, and had, besides the officers customary in king's ships, a botanist and a limner on board each vessel.

Having requested to erect an observatory, they chose the Point of the Cove on which a hut had been built for Bennilong, making use of the hut to secure their instruments. They did not profess to be in want of much assistance ; but such as they did require was directed to be given them without any expence ; it was indeed too inconsiderable to become an object of charge.

The arrival of these strangers, together with that of the ship from Bengal, gave a pleasant diversity to the dull routine that commonly prevailed in the town of Sydney, every one striving to make their abode among them as cheerful as possible, and to convince them, that though severed from the mother country, and residing in woods and among savages, they had not forgotten the hospitalities due to a stranger.

On the 21st of March the Kitty returned from Norfolk Island. Governor King had sent back in her a number of free people and convicts, having been desirous to get rid of any such characters as might be dangerous or troublesome to him. This gentleman wrote very favourably of the settlement under his command. The crops had been so abundant as to insure him a sufficiency of wheat and maize for the next twelve months. The inhabitants were healthy, and the behaviour of the convicts had in general merited commendation. Limestone having been found in great abundance, enabled Mr King to erect buildings with more extent and security than had hitherto been done in New South Wales: several casks of this useful article were now imported in the Kitty, with a quantity of plank.

The Spanish officers having nearly completed the astronomical observations which the Commodore thought it necessary to make in that port, that officer signified his intention of shortly putting to sea on the further prosecution of the instructions and orders which he had received from his court: Previous to their departure, however, the Lieutenant-Governor, with the officers of the settlement and of the corps, were entertained first on board the Descuvierta, and the next day on board the Atrevida, the Lieutenant-Governor being each day received with a salute of nine guns, with a Spanish flag hoisted on the foretop-mast-head, being the compliment that is paid in the Spanish service to a Lieutenant-General. The dinner was prepared and served up after their own custom, and bore every appearance of having been furnished from a plentiful market. The health of their respective sovereigns,

being united in one wish, were drunk with every token of approbation, under a discharge of cannon; and "Prosperity to the British Colonies in New South Wales," concluded the ceremonials of each day. During their stay the greatest harmony subsisted between the seamen of the two ships and our people, the latter in but few instances exerting their nimble-fingered talents among them; such, however, as did choose to hazard a display, and were detected, received severe punishment.

The master of the *Shah Hormuzear* having laid before the Lieutenant-Governor some proposals for conveying cattle to that country, they were taken into consideration; and in a few days a contract was entered into between Mr Bampton on his own part, and Major Grose on the part of the crown; wherein it was covenanted, that Mr Bampton should freight, at some port in India, a ship with one hundred head of large draught cattle; one hundred tons of the best provision rice, and one hundred and fifty tons of the best dhol, both articles to be equal in quality to samples then produced; and one hundred tons of the best Irish-cured beef or pork; or, in lieu of the salt provisions, fifty tons of rice. For the cattle, Mr Bampton was to receive at the rate of thirty-five pounds sterling per head for all that should land in a merchantable condition in the colony; for the rice, twenty-six pounds sterling, and for the dhol, eighteen pounds sterling for every merchantable ton which should be landed; and lastly, four-pence halfpenny per pound for the salt provisions. The master was bound in one thousand five hundred pounds penalty to fulfil these conditions.

On the 20th of April the *Dædalus* storeship, from the north-west coast of America, arrived in Sydney Cove. The *Dædalus* left England with a cargo of provisions and stores, consisting chiefly of articles of traffic, for the use of the vessels under the command of Captain Vancouver, whom she joined at Nootka Sound, on the north-west coast of America; and it was designed that she should, after delivering her car-

go, be dispatched to that colony with such stock as she might be able to procure from the different islands whereat she might touch, and be afterwards employed as the service might require, should Captain Vancouver not make any application for her return; which was thought probable, as well as that he might require some assistance from the colony.

Out of six bulls, twelve cows, six rams, eight ewes, and one hundred hogs, which the *Dædalus* had on board, four sheep and about eighty hogs only survived the voyage, which was again imputed to their being taken from grass. The hogs were in general much reduced, though apparently of a very fine breed. They had been brought from Otaheite.

The *Dædalus* having touched at the northernmost island of New Zealand, Lieutenant Hanson brought away with him two natives of that country, according to directions which he had received, for the purpose of instructing the settlers at Norfolk Island in the manufacture of the flax-plant. They were both young men, and were sent in the *Shah Hormuzear* to that place.

An extraordinary appearance in the sky was observed by several people between five and six o'clock in the evening of Friday the 12th of the month. It was noticed in the north-west, and appeared as if a ray of forked lightning had been stationary in that quarter of the sky for about fifteen minutes, which was the time it was visible. It was not to be discerned, however, after the sun had quitted the horizon.

The *Kitty* transport being fitted for her return to England, it was intended that she should sail on the second of June. Her departure was, however, delayed by the appearance of a mutiny among the sailors at the very moment of being ordered to get the anchor up and proceed to sea. The master, Mr George Ramsay, had frequently complained of some of the sailors of his ship for various offences, and several of them had been punished on shore; one, in particular, of the name of Williams. This man and four others were found by the master drinking, and with a light burning in the fore-

castle, at the improper hour of twelve at night. On being ordered to put out the light, they refused, swearing that if the master put it out they would light it again. This, however, he effected; when he was seized by Williams and the other sailors, and thrown into the water. Fortunately he could swim, (a circumstance unknown to these miscreants), and he reached the ship's side, whence, the mate coming to his assistance, he was, though with some difficulty, (being a very heavy man) got into the ship. The master, notwithstanding this outrage, would have put to sea the next morning; but when he ordered the topsails to be hoisted, and the ship got under way, Williams stood forward, and, for himself and the rest, declared with much insolence, that the anchor should not be weighed until the proper number of hands belonging to the ship were on board (she was deficient three men and two boys, the latter of whom had run away the night before). The anchor, however, was got up by the assistance of the passengers and some people of the settlement, who had boats alongside. The Lieutenant-Governor, on being informed of the dangerous and alarming temper which the seamen manifested, resolved, by taking a firm and very active part, to crush the disorder at once. He accordingly went on board in person, with some soldiers, and returned with Williams and two others who were pointed out to him; when they were taken to the public parade, and there punished, Williams with one hundred and fifty, and his companions with one hundred lashes each. In the moment of punishment William's courage forsook him, and the spirit which he had displayed on board was all evaporated. He would have said or done any thing to have averted the lash, as he well knew what a flogging was, having been flogged from ship to ship at Spithead for a similar offence.

The appearance of a mutiny is at all times and in every situation to be dreaded; but in that country nothing could be more alarming. The Lieutenant-Governor saw the affair in that light; and, with a celerity and firmness adapted to the

exigency of the case, restored tranquillity and safety to all those who were concerned in the fate of the *Kitty*. On the following day several depositions were taken by the Judge-Advocate, for the purpose of being transmitted to the Navy-Board; and, the three seamen being replaced by convicts, the *Kitty* proceeded on her voyage.

On the fourth of June his Majesty's birth-day was, as usual, set apart as a day of rest from labour, and dedicated to festivity. On this occasion his Excellency ordered twelve of the largest hogs which had been received by the *Dædalus*, to be killed and divided among the military, superintendants, and sick at the hospital.

CHAP. XV.

Scarcity of Provisions—The *Britannia* arrives—The *Dædalus* sails for Nootka—Soldiers desert—The *Boddington* arrives—*Britannia* sails for Bengal—Irish Convicts steal a boat—The *Sugar Cane* arrives—Excursion to the Westward—A Mill erected—Transactions—A Convict executed—Natives—Deaths in 1793.

THE Lieutenant-Governor found it necessary on the 12th of June to give notice, "That unless supplies arrived before the 22d, he should be under the disagreeable necessity of ordering the ration to be reduced on that day." The state of the store but too well authorized this determination, it containing at the present ration not more than ten weeks' supply of any single article; and it must be remarked, that but for the purchases which had been most fortunately made, the colony must at that moment have been again groaning under the oppression of a very reduced ration; and as none of these incidental supplies could be known in England, it was fair to conclude, that the probable, nay certain distress of these luckless people, must have been adverted to, and that ships with provisions were not very distant. Under this idea, although on the 22d, no supplies had arrived, the Lieutenant-Governor

determined to wait one week longer before he directed the necessary reduction. It was always a painful duty to abridge the food of the labouring man, and had been much too often exercised in that country. The putting off, therefore, of the evil day for another week, in the hope of any decrease being rendered unnecessary by the arrival of supplies, met with general applause.

On the Monday following, at nine o'clock at night, the joyful tidings were announced of the arrival of the *Britannia*, for whose safety fears had been entertained, eight months having elapsed since she had left port. To doubt her welcome, would be to conclude that the inhabitants had had their whole stock of feeling exhausted by the various trials to which they had been exposed.

Mr Raven touched at Dusky Bay in New Zealand; and of the timber he found there he made a very favourable report, pronouncing it to be light, tough, and in every respect fit for masts or yards. From New Zealand the *Britannia*, after rounding Cape Horn, proceeded to the island of Santa Catharina, on the Brazil coast, where the Portuguese have a settlement, and from whose Governor Mr Raven received much civility during the eighteen days that he remained there. Not being able at this place to procure any of the articles which he was instructed to purchase, (one cow and one cow-calf excepted), he stood over to the African continent, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 24th of March. At this port he took on board thirty cows; three mares; twelve goats; a quantity of flour, sugar, tobacco, and spirits; with other articles, according to the orders of his employers. Mr Raven afforded another instance of the great difficulty attending the transporting of cattle to that country; for, notwithstanding the extreme care and attention which had been paid to them, twenty-nine of the cows and three goats unfortunately died.

Of the stock which had been landed in the colony, there remained at this time three bulls, twenty-one cows, and seven

calves. Sheep, horses, and hogs, were found to endure, better than any other stock, the rough weather which was in general met with between the Cape of Good Hope and that country.

The natives had latterly become very troublesome, particularly in lurking between the different settlements, and forcibly taking provisions and clothing from the convicts who were passing from one to another. One or two convicts having been wounded by them, some small armed parties were sent out to drive them away, and to throw a few shot among them; but with positive orders to be careful not to take a life. Several of these people, however, continued to reside in the town, and to mix with its inhabitants in the most unreserved manner. It was no uncommon circumstance to see them coming in with bundles of fire-wood which they had been hired to procure, or bringing water from the tanks; for which services they thought themselves well repaid with any worn-out jacket or trowsers, or blankets, or a piece of bread. Of the latter article they were exceedingly fond; and their constant prayer was for bread, importuning with as much earnestness and perseverance, as if begging for bread had been their profession from their infancy.

On the 1st of July the *Dædalus* sailed to convey to Captain Vancouver the provisions and stores which had been required by that officer. Lieutenant Hanson, the naval agent on board, received the most pointed orders for the ship to return to that port immediately after having executed the service on which she was then going. On board the *Dædalus* was embarked a native of the country, who was sent by the Lieutenant-Governor for the purpose of acquiring the English language. Lieutenant Hanson was directed by no means to leave him at Nootka, but, if he survived the voyage, to bring him back to his friends and countrymen. His native names were Gnung-a gnung-a, Mur-re-mur-gan; but he had for a long time entirely lost them, even among his own people, who called him "Collins," after the judge-advocate,

whose name he had adopted on the first day of his being at the settlement. He was a man of a more gentle disposition than most of his associates; and from the confidence that he placed in his new acquaintance, very readily undertook the voyage, although he left behind him a young wife (a sister of Bennaillong, who accompanied Governor Phillip.)

On the 6th of July the intended change took place in the ration; and it being a week on which pork was to be issued, three pounds of that article were served instead of four. The other articles remained the same.

About the middle of the month, all the wheat which was to be sown on the public account was got in, at and near Toongabbe; the quantity of ground was about three hundred and eighty acres. The wheat of last season being now nearly thrashed out, some judgment could be formed of its produce; and it was found to have averaged between seventeen and eighteen bushels an acre. A large quantity of wheat had also been sown the present season by individuals, amounting to about one thousand three hundred and eighty-one bushels; every encouragement having been given to them to sow their grounds with that grain.

The frequent commission of crimes occasioned the criminal court of judicature to be assembled; when one man was sentenced to die; but the court having recommended him to mercy on account of his youth, being only sixteen years of age, the Lieutenant-Governor as readily forgave as the court had recommended him; but that the prisoner might have all the benefit of so awful a situation, the change in his fate was not imparted to him until the very moment when he was about to ascend the ladder from which he was to have been plunged into eternity. He had appeared since his conviction as if devoid of feeling; but on receiving the information of a pardon being granted to him, he fell on his knees in an agony of joy and gratitude. The solemn scene appeared likewise to make a forcible impression on his fellow-prisoners who were present.

On the last day of July, a plan to take off one of the long-boats was revealed to the Lieutenant-Governor. The principal parties in it were soldiers; and their scheme was, to proceed to Java, with a chart of which they had been by some means furnished. Two of them were tried, one of whom was acquitted; but the other, being found guilty, was sentenced to receive three hundred lashes. While smarting under the severity of his punishment, he gave up the names of six or eight of his brother soldiers, among whom were two which had absented themselves the preceding evening. These people, the day following their desertion, were met in the path to Parramatta, and told an absurd story of their being sent to the Blue Mountains. They were next heard of at a settler's at Prospect Hill, whose house they entered forcibly, and, making him and his labourer prisoners, passed the night there. At another settler's they took sixteen pounds of flour, which they sent by his wife to a woman well known to them, and had it baked into small loaves. They signified a determination not to be taken alive, and threatened to lie in wait for the game-killers, of whose ammunition they meant to make themselves masters. These declarations manifested at once the badness of their hearts, and the weakness of their cause; and the Lieutenant-Governor, on being made acquainted with them, sent out a small armed party to secure and bring them in; rightly judging, that people who were so ready at expressing every where a resolution to part with their lives rather than be taken, would not give much trouble in securing them. Accordingly, they were overtaken, and, as had been foreseen, secured without any opposition on their part.

On the 7th of August, the Boddington transport arrived from Ireland, having sailed from Cork on the 15th of February, with one hundred and twenty-four male, and twenty female convicts, of that kingdom, on board, provision calculated to serve them nine months after their arrival, and a proportion of clothing for twelve months. The Irish convicts had attempted to take the ship; but their design had been

frustrated by the vigilance and activity of the master and a subaltern's party of the New South Wales Corps. No ship could have brought out their convicts in higher order, or could have given stronger proofs of attention to their health and accommodation, than did this vessel. Each had a bed to himself, and a new suit of cloaths to land in. On the part of the crown also, to see justice done to the convicts, there was a surgeon of the navy on board, and a superintendant; and on the part of the contractor, a surgeon also. They had not any sick list, and had lost only one man on the passage. The convicts, on quitting her, gave their captain (Mr Robert Chalmers) three hearty cheers, as a token of their gratitude for his humanity and good treatment of them.

Advices were received by the Boddington, that administration intended to make arrangements for their being supplied from Bengal with live cattle; and this became a favourite idea with every person in the colony; for the sheep, though small, were found to be very productive, breeding twice in the year, and generally bringing two lambs at a birth. The climate was also found to agree well with the cattle of the Buffalo species which had been received.

It has been seen, that the supply brought by the Boddington was very inconsiderable; and no greater quantity was expected with any degree of certainty by the ship which was to follow. The salt provisions remaining in store (by a calculation made up to the 28th), were sufficient for only fourteen weeks at the full ration, including what had been received by the Boddington, and some surplus provisions which had been purchased of the agent to the contractor, and one hundred casks of pork which had been omitted by an oversight in the last account.

When it was considered that their supplies would always be effected by commotions at home, and that, if a war should take place between England and any other nation, they might be retarded, or taken by the enemy, the Lieutenant-Governor determined, while he had in his own hands the means of sup-

plying himself, to employ them; and on the 26th chartered the *Britannia* for India. She was to proceed to Bengal, to be freighted by the government of that presidency with salt provisions, Irish beef or pork; and in the event of its not being possible to procure them, the ship was to return loaded with sugar, rice, and dhol.

It might have been supposed, that the fatal consequence of endeavouring to find in the woods of New South Wales a place where the means of life could be obtained without labour, had been sufficiently felt by the convicts who had tried it, to have deterred others from rushing into the same error, as they would doubtless acquaint the new comers with the ill success which had attended all their schemes of that nature. Several of those, however, who came out in the *Boddington*, went off into the woods soon after their landing; and a small party, composed of some desperate characters, about the same time stole a boat, and, as they were not heard of for some days after, it was supposed that they had either got out of the harbour, or were lying concealed until, being joined by those who had taken to the woods, they could procure a larger and a safer conveyance from the country.

On the 17th of September, the *Sugar Cane* transport anchored in the cove from Cork. She had on board one hundred and ten male, and fifty female convicts, and a serjeant's party of the New South Wales corps as a guard. On the 25th of May, information was given to the agent on the part of Government, that a meeting was intended by the convicts, and that they had proceeded so far as to saw off some of their irons. Insinuations were at the same time thrown out, of the probability of their being joined by certain of the sailors and of the guard. The agent, after making the necessary inquiry, thought it indispensable to the safety of the ship, to cause an instant example to be made, and ordered one of the convicts who was found out of irons to be executed that night; others were punished the next morning; and by these measures, as might well be expected, threw such a damp on the

spirits of the rest, that he heard no more during the voyage of attempts or intentions to take the ship.

Captain Paterson, of the New South Wales corps, an account of whose journies in Africa appeared in print some years ago, conceiving that he might be able to penetrate as far as, or even beyond, the western mountains, (commonly known in the colony by the name of the Blue Mountains, from the appearance which land so high and distant generally wears,) set off from the settlement with a small party of gentlemen, well provided with arms, and having provisions and necessaries sufficient for a journey of six weeks, to make the attempt. Boats were sent round to Broken Bay, whence they got into the Hawkesbury, and the fourth day as far as Richmond Hill. At this place, in the year 1789, the Governor's progress up the river was obstructed by a fall of water, which his boats were too heavy to drag over. This difficulty Captain Paterson overcame by quitting his large boats, and proceeded from Richmond Hill with two that were smaller and lighter. He found that this part of the river carried him to the westward, and into the chasm that divided the high land seen from Richmond Hill. Hither, however, he got with great difficulty and some danger, meeting in the space of about ten miles with not less than five water-falls, one of which was rather steep, and was running at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour. Above this part the water was about fifteen yards from side to side, and came down with some rapidity, a fall of rain having swollen the stream. Their navigation was here so intricate, lying between large pieces of rock that had been torn down by torrents, and some stumps of trees which they could not always see, that (after having loosened a plank in one boat, and driven the other upon a stump which forced its way through her bottom) they gave up any farther progress, leaving the western mountains to be the object of discovery at some future day. It was supposed that they had proceeded ten miles farther up the river than had before been done, and named that part of it, which until they had been unseen,

“the Grose;” and a high peak of land, which they had in view in the chasm, they called Harrington Peak. Captain Paterson, as a botanist was amply rewarded for his labour and disappointment by discovering several new plants. Of the soil in which they grew, however, he did not speak very favourably.

He saw but few natives; and those who did visit them were almost unintelligible to the natives of Port Jackson who accompanied him. He entertained a notion, that their legs and arms were longer than those of the inhabitants of the coast. As they live by climbing trees, if there really was any such difference, it might perhaps have been occasioned by the custom of hanging by their arms and resting on their feet at the utmost stretch of the body, which they practise from their infancy. The party returned on the 22d, having been absent about ten days. In their walk to Pitt Water, they met with the boat which had been stolen by some of the Irish convicts; and a few days after their return, some of those who had run into the woods came into Parramatta, with an account of two of their party having been speared and killed by the natives. The men who were killed were very bad characters, and had been the principals in the intended mutiny on board the *Boddington*. Their destruction was confirmed by some of the natives who lived in the town.

A mill was at this time constructed by a convict, whose abilities as a millwright had hitherto laid dormant, and perhaps would longer have continued so had they not been called forth by a desire of placing himself in competition with the mill-wright sent by Government to the settlement of Sydney. His machine was a walking mill, the principal wheel of which was fifteen feet in diameter, and was worked by two men: while this wheel was performing one revolution, the mill-stones performed twenty. As it had been in opposition to the public mill-wright that he undertook to construct this mill, he of course derived no assistance whatever from the other's knowledge, and had to contend not only with his

opinion, but the opinion of such as he could prejudice against him. The heavy part of the work, cutting and bringing in the timber, and afterwards preparing it, was performed by his fellow-prisoners, who gave him their labour voluntarily. He was three months and five days from his taking it in hand to his offering it for the first trial.

Several fresh proofs of the incorrigible depravity of the convicts had occurred during the month of October : four of them had broken into the house of a settler, where with large bludgeons they had beaten and nearly murdered two men who lived with him. The hands and faces of these miscreants were blackened ; and it was observed, that they did not speak during the time they were in the hut. It was supposed that they were some of those who had come from Ireland ; seven of whom, with one woman, had at this time absconded into the woods.

During a storm of rain and thunder which happened in the afternoon of Saturday the 26th, two convicts, who were employed in cutting wood when the rain commenced, ran to a tree for shelter, where they were found the next morning lying dead, together with a dog which followed them. There was no doubt that the shelter which they sought had proved their destruction, and that they had been struck dead by lightning, some flashes of which had been observed to be very vivid and near. One of them, when he received the stroke, had his hands in his bosom ; the hands of the other were across his breast, and he seemed to have had something in them. The pupils of their eyes were considerably dilated, and the tongue of each, as well as that of the dog, was forced out between the teeth. Their faces were livid, and the same appearance was visible on several parts of their bodies. The tree at the foot of which they were found was barked at the top, and some of its branches were torn off. In the evening they were decently buried in one grave, to which they were attended by many of their fellow-prisoners.

This was the first accident of the kind that had occurred in the colony, though lightning more vivid and alarming had often been seen in storms of longer duration.

On the 7th of November, the Francis schooner returned from Dusky Bay in New Zealand. It was found that, by rigging this little vessel as a schooner instead of a sloop, for which she was built, her sailing had been materially affected. Four times she was blown off the coast of New Zealand. She left Mr. Raven and his ship's company well at Dusky Bay, but his people had taken only four thousand five hundred seal skins. Mr Raven stated the spruce fir of that country to be the fittest wood that he had observed for ship-building, and it might be procured in any quantity or of any size. The carpenter of the Britannia, an ingenious man, and master of his profession, compared it to English oak for durability and strength.

The natives had not molested the Britannia's people: indeed, they seemed rather to abhor them; for, if by chance, in their excursions (which were very few), they visited and left any thing in a hut, they were sure, on their next visit, to find the hut pulled down, and their present remaining where it was left. Some little articles which Mr. Raven had himself placed in a hut, when he touched there to establish his little fishery, were found three months after by his people in the same spot.

On Saturday the 23d of November, the flour and rice in the store being nearly expended, the ration was altered and was universally felt as the worst that had ever been served from his Majesty's stores; and by the labouring convict particularly so, as no article of grain was prepared for him so as to be immediately made use of. The quantity that was now to be ground, and the numbers who brought grain to the mill, kept it employed all the night as well as the day; and as, from the scarcity of mills, every man was compelled to wait for his turn, the day had broke and the drum beat for labour, before many who went into the mill-house at night had been

able to get their corn ground. The consequence was, that many, not having power to wait, consumed their allowance unprepared. By the next Saturday, a quantity of wheat sufficient for one serving having been passed through the large mill at Parramatta, the convicts received their ration of that article ground coarse.

An idea very generally prevailed among the convicts, that the Lieutenant-Governor was not authorised to cause a sentence of death to be carried into execution : a notion that was in their minds confirmed by the mercy which had been extended to one of them who had been condemned, and pardoned by him. It became, therefore, absolutely necessary, for their own sakes, to let them see that he was not only possessed of the power, but that he would also exercise it. On this account, a prisoner then under sentence was executed on Tuesday the 10th of December; and, most fortunately, there did not exist in the colony at that time a fitter object for example. The poor wretch, to his last moment, cherished the idea that he should not suffer; and consequently could have been ill prepared for the change that he was about to experience.

On Monday the 9th, the last pound of flour was served out. This total deprivation of so valuable, so essential an article in the food of man, happened, fortunately, at a season when its place could in some measure be supplied immediately, the harvest having been all safely got in at Toongabbe in the beginning of the month; about the middle of it eight hundred bushels were threshed out; and on Monday the 16th the civil and military received each seven pounds of wheat coarsely ground from the mill at Parramatta. This mill, from the brittleness of the timber with which it was constructed, was found to be unequal to the consumption of the settlements. The cogs frequently broke, and hence it was not of any great utility. To remedy this inconvenience, a convict blacksmith undertook to produce one iron hand-mill each week, for which he was to be paid at the rate of two guineas; and by this means several mills were distributed in the settlements.

The town of Sydney had this year increased considerably; not fewer than one hundred and sixty huts, beside five barracks, having been added since the departure of Governor Phillip. Some of these were large, and to each of them upwards of fourteen hundred bricks were allowed for a chimney and floor. These huts extended so as nearly to unite that district with the town.

About the latter end of the month a large party of the natives attacked some settlers who were returning from Parramatta to Toongabbe, and took from them all the provisions which they had just received from the store. By flying immediately into the woods, they eluded all pursuit and search. They were of the hunter's or woodman's tribe, people who seldom came among the English, and who consequently were little known.

The natives who lived about Sydney appeared to place the utmost confidence in its inhabitants, choosing a clear spot between the town and the brick-field for the performance of any of their rites and ceremonies; and for three evenings the town had been amused with one of their spectacles, which might properly have been denominated a tragedy, for it was attended with a great effusion of blood. It appeared from the best account that could be procured, that one or more murders having been committed in the night, the assassins, who were immediately known, were compelled, according to the custom of the country, to meet the relations of the deceased, who were to avenge their deaths by throwing spears, and drawing blood for blood. One native of the tribe of Cammerray, a very fine fellow, named Carradah, who had stabbed another in the night, but not mortally, was obliged to stand for two evenings exposed to the spears not only of the man whom he had wounded, but of several other natives. He was suffered, indeed, to cover himself with a bark shield, and he behaved with the greatest courage and resolution. Whether his principal adversary (the wounded man) found that he possessed too much defensive skill to admit of his wounding him, or

whether it was a necessary part of his punishment, was not known with any certainty; but on the second day that Carradah had been opposed to him and his party, after having received several of their spears on his shield, without sustaining any injury, he suffered the other to pin his left arm (below the elbow) to his side, without making any resistance; prevented, perhaps, by the uplifted spears of the other natives, who could easily have destroyed him, by throwing at him in different directions. Carradah stood, for some time after this, defending himself, although wounded in the arm which held the shield, until his adversaries had not a whole spear left, and had retired to collect the fragments and piece them together. On his sitting down, his left hand appeared to be very much convulsed, and the principal surgeon of the settlement was of opinion that the spear had pierced one of the nerves. The business was resumed when they had repaired their weapons, and the fray appeared to be general, men, women, and children mingling in it, giving and receiving many severe wounds, before night put an end to their warfare.

What rendered this sort of contest as unaccountable as extraordinary, was, that friendship and alliance were known to subsist between several that were opposed to each other, who fought with all the ardour of the bitterest enemies, and who, though wounded, declared the party by whom they had been hurt to be good and brave, and their friends.

Possessing by nature a good habit of body, the combatants very soon recovered of their wounds; and it was understood, that Carradah had not entirely expiated his offence, having yet another trial to undergo from some natives who had been prevented by absence from joining in the ceremonies of these evenings.

To furnish bricks for the barracks, that were now building, and other buildings, three gangs were constantly at work, finding employment for three overseers and about eighty convicts. To convey these materials from the brickfield to the barrack-ground, a distance of about three quarters of a mile, three

brick-carts were employed, each drawn by twelve men, under the direction of one overseer. Seven hundred tiles, or three hundred and fifty bricks, were brought by each cart, and every cart in the day brought either five loads of bricks, or four of tiles. To bring in the timber necessary for these and other buildings, four timber-carriages were employed, each being drawn by twenty-four men. In addition to these, to each carriage were annexed two fallers, and one overseer, making a total of two hundred and twenty-eight men, who must be employed in any such heavy labour as the building of a barrack or a storehouse, exclusive of the sawyers, carpenters, smiths, painters, glaziers, and stone-masons, without whose labour they could not be completed.

The expence of victualling and clothing these people (both their provisions and the materials for making their clothes being augmented above their prime cost, by freight, and by the cost of what might be damaged and useless) must be supposed to be considerable; and must be taken into account, together with the cost of tools and of such materials as were not to be procured in the country, when calculating the expences of the public works erected in that colony.

. There died between the 1st of January and the 31st of December, both inclusive, two settlers, seven soldiers, seventy-eight male and twenty-six female convicts, and twenty-nine children. One male convict was executed; six were lost in the woods; one was found dead in the woods; one killed by the fall of a tree, and two were killed by lightning; making a decrease by death and accidents of one hundred and fifty-three persons. To this decrease may be added, four male convicts, who had found means to escape from the colony on board of some of the ships which had been there.

The live stock in the country belonging to individuals was confined to three or four persons, who kept up the price in order to create an interest in the preservation of it. An English cow, in calf, was sold by one officer to another for eighty pounds; and the calf, which proved a male, was sold for

fifteen pounds. A mare, although aged and defective, had been sold for forty pounds. It must be remarked, however, that in these sales stock itself was generally the currency of the country, one kind of animals being commonly exchanged for another.

Labour was also proportionally high: where money was paid, it was taken at the reputed value; but where articles were given in lieu of labour, they were charged according to the prices stated.

The masters of merchantmen, who generally made it their business, immediately on their arrival, to learn the prices of commodities in the colony, finding them so extravagantly high as before related, thought it not their concern to reduce them to any thing like a fair equitable value; but, by asking themselves what must be considered a high price, after every proper allowance for risk, insurance, and loss, kept up the extravagant nominal value which every thing bore in the colony.

CHAP. XVI.

Murder Committed—Fresh Beef—Crops—Settlement fixed at the Hawksbury—State of Norfolk Island—New Zealanders—Court of Inquiry—Natives—A Famine Dreaded—Supplies Arrive—Admiral Barrington Transport lost—Full ration issued—Settlers—Honesty of a Native—Female Inconstancy—Native killed.

On the 5th of January, 1794, an elderly convict, employed to go out with the cattle at Parramatta, was most barbarously murdered. The cattle, having lost their conductor, remained that night in the woods; and when they were found, the absence of their keeper excited an apprehension that some accident had befallen him. His body was not discovered, however, until the Wednesday following; when by the snorting and great uneasiness of the cattle, which had been driven out for the purpose, it was perceived lying in a hollow or ravine,

into which it had been thrown by those merciless wretches who had butchered him, covered with logs, boughs, and grass. Some native dogs, led by the scent of human blood, had found it, and by gnawing off both the hands, and the entire flesh from one arm, had added considerably to the horrid spectacle which the body exhibited.

This unfortunate man had imprudently boasted of being worth a good deal of money, and that he always carried it with him sewed up in some part of his clothes, to guard against losing it. If this was true, what he carried with him certainly proved his destruction; if not, the catastrophe must be attributed to his indiscreet declarations. By the various wounds which he had received, it appeared that he must have well defended himself, and could not have parted with his life until overpowered by numbers; for, though advanced in years, he was a stout muscular man; and it was from this circumstance concluded, that more than one person was concerned in the murder of him. To discover, if possible, the perpetrators of this atrocious offence, one or two men of bad characters were taken up and examined, as well as all the people employed about the stock-yard: but nothing appeared that tended to fix it upon any one of them; and, desirable as it was that they should be brought to that punishment which sooner or later awaited them, it was feared that until some riot or disagreement among themselves should occur, no clue would be furnished that could lead to their detection. In tracing the motives that could lead to this murder, the pernicious vice of gaming presented itself as the first and grand cause. To such excess was this pursuit carried among the convicts, that some had been known, after losing provisions, money, and all their spare clothing, to have staked and lost the very clothes on their wretched backs, standing in the midst of their associates as naked, and as indifferent about it, as the unconscious natives of the country which these gamblers disgraced. Money was, however, the principal object with these people; for with money they could purchase spirits, or

whatever else their passions made them covet, and the colony could furnish. They had been seen to play at their favourite games, cribbage and all-fours, for six, eight, and ten dollars each game ; and those who were not expert at these, instead of pence, tossed up for dollars. Their meetings were scenes of quarrelling, swearing, and every profaneness that might be expected from the dissolute manners of those who composed them ; and to this improper practice must undoubtedly be attributed most of the vices that existed in the colony, as pilferings, garden-robberies, burglaries, profanation of the sabbath, and murder.

About the middle of the month, one small cow and a Bengal steer (both private property) were killed, and issued to the non-commissioned officers and privates of two companies of the New South Wales corps. This was but the third time that fresh beef had been tasted by the colonists of that country ; once, it may be remembered, in the year 1788, and a second time when the Lieutenant-Governor and the officers of the settlement were entertained by the Spanish captains. At that time, however, had they not been informed that they were eating beef, they would never have discovered it by the flavour ; and it certainly happened to more than one Englishman that day, to eat his favourite viand without recognising the taste. The Spanish mode of roasting beef or mutton was, first to boil and then to brown the joint before the fire. The beef that was killed was sold to the soldiers at eighteen-pence per pound. The two animals together weighed three hundred and seventy-two pounds.

It was found that the settlers, notwithstanding the plentiful crops which in general they might be said to have gathered, gave no assistance to Government by sending any into store. They appeared to be most sedulously endeavouring to get rid of their grain in any way that they could ; some by brewing and distilling it ; some by baking it into bread, and indulging their own propensities in eating ; others by paying debts contracted by gaming. Even the farms themselves were pledged

and lost in this way; those very farms which undoubtedly were capable of furnishing them with an honest comfortable maintenance for life.

The grounds in cultivation on account of Government, which had been sown with wheat, (three hundred and sixty acres,) was found to have produced about the same quantity as that raised by the settlers. Through the want of flour, the consumption of this article was very great; and toward the latter end of the month half of the whole produce of the last season (reserving twelve hundred bushels for seed) had been issued. This afforded but a gloomy prospect; for it was much feared, that unless supplies arrived in time, the Indian corn would not be ripe soon enough to save the seed wheat.

On the 25th, the grain from Bengal being expended, and no more Indian corn of the last year's growth remaining that could be saved, the public were informed, that from that time no other grain than wheat could be issued; and accordingly on that day the male convicts received for their week's subsistence three pounds of pork and eight pounds of wheat; and one pound more of wheat was issued to the civil and military.

In this unprovided state of the settlement, the return of Mr Bampton with his promised cargo began to be anxiously expected. The completion of the *Britannia's* voyage was also looked forward to, as a desirable event, though to be expected at a somewhat later period; and every shower of rain, as it tended to the benefit of the Indian corn then growing, was received as a sort of presage that at least the seed-wheat, the hopes of the next season, would be safe.

Another division of settlers was added to the list of those already established. Williams and Ruse, having got rid of the money which they had respectively received for their farms, were permitted, with some others, to open ground on the banks of the Hawkesbury, beginning with much spirit, and forming to themselves very sanguine hopes of success. At the end of the month they had cleared several acres, and

were in some forwardness with a few huts. The natives had not given them any interruption. Those people, however, had not been so quiet in the neighbourhood of Parramatta, between which settlement and Prospect Hill some settlers had been attacked by a party of armed natives, and stripped of their provisions. These savages were very desirous of possessing the clothing and provisions of the inhabitants; and it was noticed, that as the corn ripened, they constantly drew together round the settlers' farms, and round the public grounds, for the purpose of committing depredations.

On the 12th of February the Francis returned from Norfolk Island. By her the Lieutenant-Governor stated that his crops had been abundant, and plenty was reigning among all descriptions of people in the island. His wheat was cut, the first of it on the 25th of November, and the harvest was well got in by Christmas-day. About two thousand bushels were the calculated produce of this crop, which would have been greater but for the want of rain. Of the maize, the first crop (having always two) was gathering while the schooner was there, and, notwithstanding the drought, turned out well; from one acre and a quarter of ground, one hundred and sixty bushels had been gathered; but it was pretty generally established on the island, that thirty-six bushels of maize might be taken as the average produce of an acre of ground.

The settlement had been so healthy, that no loss by death had happened since their last account; and when the schooner sailed very few were sick. Only sixty-three persons had died in the last two years and sixty-three days; in which time ninety-five children had been born. The whole number in the settlement amounted to one thousand and eight persons. Every description of stock, except some Cape sheep which did not breed, was equally healthy as the inhabitants, and were increasing fast.

The two natives of New Zealand, who had been sent to Mr King, having completed the purpose for which they had been sent (by giving such instruction in the process of pre-

paring the flax-plant, that even with very bad materials a few hands could manufacture thirty-yards of good canvas in a week), and having manifested much anxiety, on the appearance of any ship, to return to their friends and native country, though treated with every attention and kindness that could dispel their fears and conciliate their good opinion, Mr. King thought this a favourable opportunity of gratifying their wishes (the *Britannia* having called at the island in her way to Bengal). That they might not experience on the voyage any interruption to the good treatment which they had hitherto met with, he determined to accompany them himself, and accordingly embarked on board the *Britannia*, with a guard from the New South Wales corps, and sailed for New Zealand on the 9th. Their passage was short ; for on the fourth day the two natives were landed among some of their friends, though not exactly at the district in which their families and kindred resided (the Bay of Islands) ; and Mr. King returned to Norfolk Island on the 18th.

Mr. King found himself compelled to send by the *Francis* ten soldiers, of the detachment of the New South Wales corps on duty there, under a charge of mutinous behaviour. A jealousy which had grown up between the soldiers and free-men, settlers and others, occasioned by some acts of violence, and improper behaviour on either side, broke out at a place in which the Lieutenant-Governor had permitted plays to be represented by the convicts, as an innocent recreation after labour. Mr. King, who was present, having thought it necessary to order one of the soldiers into confinement when the play was ended, the detachment repaired to their own commanding-officer, and demanded the release of their comrade. On his declaring his inability to comply with such a request, they signified a resolution to release him themselves ; upon which the officer remonstrated with them, and they dispersed. It did not appear that they made any attempts to release the prisoner ; but when the Lieutenant-Governor was made acquainted with the above circumstances, he convened all the

officers in the settlement, and laid before them what he had heard, together with an account of a determination among the soldiers, to release from the halberts any of their comrades who should be ordered to punishment for any offence or injury done to a settler ; all of which he had caused to be authenticated upon oath. The result of this meeting was, that the detachment should be disarmed, and that the settlers late of the marines, and ship's company, should be embodied and armed as a militia. This resolution was accordingly put in execution, by sending the detachment from their quarters unarmed, upon different duties, while the new-raised militia took possession of their arms. On their return, twenty were selected as mutineers to be sent to Port Jackson, the remainder returning to their duty immediately (but of that number ten were, after a few days confinement, pardoned and liberated) ; and two days after Mr. King had restored good order in the settlement the Francis appeared. By her he sent the ten prisoners, under the guard of an officer and as many soldiers as the vessel could conveniently receive.

A court of enquiry, composed of the officers of the regiment at Sydney, was assembled on the arrival of the Francis, to examine into the complaint which had accompanied the soldiers ; when, after five days' deliberation, they reported, that the conduct of the soldiers, in disobeying the orders of their officers, was reprehensible ; but, on considering the provocations which had given birth to that disobedience, they recommended them to their commanding-officer's clemency.

On the 27th, the schooner sailed a second time for Norfolk Island, to convey officers and soldiers in lieu of those who had been sent to Sydney, and without whom the detachment on duty there would have been too much weakened.

The natives again became troublesome. Twice they had attacked, robbed, and beaten, some of the settlers' wives, who were repassing between their farms and Parramatta ; and great quantities of corn continued to be stolen by them. One of those women was so severely wounded by a party, who

robbed and stripped her of part of her wearing apparel, that she lay for a long time dangerously ill at the hospital. It was said that the people who committed this and other acts of violence and cruelty were occasional visitors with others at Sydney.

Notwithstanding the woods were infested by these people, numbers of the male convicts, idle, and dreading labour as a greater evil than the risk of being murdered, absented from the new settlements, and, after wandering about for a few days, got at length to Sydney, almost naked, and so nearly starved, that in most cases humanity interfered between them and the punishment which they merited. They, in general, pleaded the insufficiency of their present ration to support a labouring man. At that period, it was true, the labouring convict was menaced with the probability of suffering greater want than had ever been before experienced in the settlement. One fortnight more would see the public stores cleared of its last ounce of provisions. But even this situation, bad as it was, was still alleviated by the assistance that the officers, settlers, and others, were able to afford to those whom they either retained in their service or occasionally hired for labour as they wanted them.

One serving of salt-meat alone remained in the provision-store ; and that was to be the food of only half a week. After that period the prospect was truly discouraging ; for mere bread and water appeared to be the portion of by far the greater part of the inhabitants of these unfortunate settlements,—of that part too whose bodily labour must be called forth to restore plenty, and attain such a state of independence on the parent-country as would render delay or accident in the transport of supplies a matter of much less moment to the colony than it had ever hitherto been considered.

As at this time the stock of swine in the possession of individuals was rather considerable, some saving of the salt provisions, it was thought, might be made by purchasing sufficient to issue to the military. A quantity was therefore pur-

chased by the Commissary, and issued in the proportion of four pounds and a half of fresh meat instead of three of salt.

Both public and private stock appeared to be threatened with destruction. The sheep and goats in the colony were not numbered far from one thousand. The cows had increased that species of stock by thirteen calves, which were produced in the last year. The exact number of hogs was not, nor could it well be, ascertained; it must, however, have been considerable, as every industrious convict had been able to keep one or more breeding sows. All this wore, indeed, the appearance of a resource; yet what would it all have been (admitting that an equal partition had been made) when distributed among upwards of three thousand people? But an equal partition of private stock, as most of this was such, could not have been expected. The officers holding this stock in their own hands would certainly take care to keep it there, and from it would naturally supply their own people. How far, in an hour of such distress, the convicts would have sat quietly down on their return from labouring in the field to their scanty portion of bread and water, and look patiently on while others were keeping want and hunger at a distance by the daily enjoyment of a comfortable meal of fresh viands? was a question with many who thought of their situation.

Most happily, however, for all descriptions of people, they were not at this time to be put to the trial; for, on the 8th of March, at that critical moment when the doors of the provision-store had closed, and the convicts had received their last allowance which remained, the signal for a sail was made. A boat was sent down; but on its return at night they were told that a ship with English colours flying had stood into the harbour; but meeting with a heavy squall of wind at south, in which she split her fore-top-sail, was compelled again to put to sea. It was conjectured that she was a stranger; for if any person on board her had had any knowledge of the harbour, she might have run with much ease from the middle-

head into safety in Spring Cove. The officer who went down unfortunately could not board her.

At night the wind increased, with much rain, and morning was anxiously looked for, to tell them where and who the stranger was. Nothing more, however, was known of her during that day, than that she was to be seen from the flag-staff; whence in the evening word was brought up, over-land, that another vessel, a brig, was in sight.

Anxiety and curiosity, now strained to the utmost, were obliged to wait the passing of another night; but about three o'clock on Monday the 10th the wind and weather both changed; and, to the infinite satisfaction of the anxious expectants, the ship *William*, from London, came to an anchor, and with her the *Arthur*, a small brig of about ninety-five tons, from Bengal. The *William* had sailed from the river Thames on the 1st of July; whence she proceeded to Cork, where she took on board a cargo of beef and pork for the colony; but had not an ounce of flour. By her they learned, that Governor Phillip had reached England in safety. The natives Bennilong and Yem-mer-ra-wan-ue were well, but not sufficiently divested of the genuine natural love for liberty and their native country, to prefer London, with its pleasures and its abundance, to the woods of New South Wales. They requested that their wives might be taught to expect their return in the course of that year. Had it been possible to eradicate in any breast that love for the place of our birth, or where we have lived and grown from infancy to manhood, which is implanted in us by the kind hand of nature, it surely would have been effected on two natives of New Holland, whose country did not possess a single charm in the eye even of a savage inhabitant of New Zealand.

In the *William* arrived an assistant chaplain, to divide the religious duties of the colony with Mr Johnson.

Had it been known on the evening of the 8th, when the report was received that the ship had been blown out to sea, that she contained so valuable a cargo as four months' beef

and pork at the full ration, how would their anxiety have been increased upon her account ! Had she, as the *Justinian* had before, been blown off the coast for three weeks, how deeply would distress have been felt in these settlements !

The brig from Bengal had on board a small quantity of beef and pork ; some sugar, Bengal rum, and coarse callicoes.

To the great surprise and regret of every inhabitant of Port Jackson, no account, at the time of the brig leaving Calcutta, had been heard of Mr. Bampton's arrival in any port in India.

The master of the brig had met with captain Patrickson, who had before carried a cargo on speculation to Sydney, and had actually loaded a ship with the intention of repeating his visit, but was prevented by some unaccountable apprehension that his venture would not be purchased.

The government of Bengal too had advertised for terms to freight a vessel for that country with cattle and provisions ; but were diverted from the design by the equipment of the armaments which it was necessary to enter into at that time.

Thus had the infant colony of New South Wales still been doomed to be the sport of contingency, the jarring interests of men co-operating with the dangers of the sea to throw obstacles in the way of that long-desired independence which would free the mother-country from a heavy responsibility as well as expence, and would deliver the colonists from the constant apprehension under which they laboured, of being one day left to seek their subsistence among the woods of the country, or along the shores of its coast.

In consequence of these fortunate arrivals the full ration of salt meat was ordered ; and the deficiency on the last serving days was completed to the full allowance. The last of the wheat was served on the 17th (a proper quantity being reserved for seed) ; and on the next provision-day ten pounds of Indian corn were substituted instead of the allowance of wheat. Nothing but dire necessity could have induced the gathering and issuing of this article in its unripened state, the whole of it being soft, full of juice, and wholly unfit to

grind. Had the settlers, with only a common share of honesty, returned the wheat which they had received from Government to sow their grounds the last season, the reproach which they drew upon themselves, by not stepping forward at such a moment to assist Government, would not have been incurred.

A new mill, made by a convict, was completed and set to work about the time of the William's arrival. At first it went rather heavily; but in a few days, with the labour of nine men, it ground sixty-three pounds of wheat in seventeen minutes.

A circumstance now occurred, which gave some proof that the force of good example had been felt by one of the natives, a youth named Ca-ru-ey, who from long residence in the colony had contracted some of the distinctions between good and ill; for, on perceiving some convicts gathering and secreting Indian corn out of a garden, and knowing that acts of that nature were always punished, he instantly gave an account of what he had seen, in time to secure the offenders on the spot, with the corn in their possession. As he made no secret of what he had done, it was apprehended that some revenge might, if they were punished, be levelled at him on a future opportunity: they were therefore pardoned; but Ca-ru-ey was nevertheless applauded and recompenced for his attention and honesty.

On the third of April the *Dædalus* returned, with part of the stores that she had on board at the time of her leaving Port Jackson, Captain Vancouver not having room for them in his ship. The native who had accompanied Mr. Hanson, returned with him, and had conducted himself with the greatest propriety during the voyage, readily complying with whatever was required of him. The king of Owhyhee earnestly wished to detain him on the island, making splendid offers to Mr. Hanson, of canoes, warlike instruments, and other curiosities, to purchase him; but if Mr. Hanson had been

willing to have left him, Collins would not have consented, being very anxious to return to New South Wales.

He did not appear to have acquired much of the English language during his excursion ; but seemed to comprehend a great deal more than he could find words to express.

On his arrival at Sydney he found his wife, whom he had left in a state of pregnancy, in the possession of another native, a very fine young fellow. The circumstance of his return, and the novelty of his appearance, being habited in the English dress, and very clean, drew many of his countrymen about him ; and among others his rival and his wife. The husband and the gallant eyed each other with indignant sullenness, while the poor wife (who had recently been delivered of a female child) appeared terrified, and as if she knew not which to cling to as her protector, but expecting that she should be the sufferer, whether ascertained to belong to her former or present master. A few days, however, determined the point : her travelled husband shivered a spear with the lover, who was wounded in the contest, and the wife became the prize of the victor ; who, after thus ascertaining his right by arms, seemed indifferent about the reward ; and was soon after seen traversing the country in search of another wife.

By the return of the Francis from Norfolk Island, Lieutenant-Governor King reported, that his second crop of Indian corn had been so productive that he was enabled to make an offer of sending five thousand bushels of that article to Sydney, if required.

Notwithstanding the ill success which had hitherto attended the endeavours of the Irish convicts stationed at Toongabbe and Parramatta to find a way from those places to China, a few of them were again hardy enough to attempt effecting their escape, and getting thither, in a small boat which they took from a settler. They had furnished themselves with some provisions ; but the wretchedness of their boat must have ensured to them the same end which certainly befel Tarwood and his companions, particularly as it blew a gale

of wind the day succeeding their departure ; and, no account having been received of them from that day, the 12th, to the end of the month, it was supposed that they had perished.

From the settlement on the banks of the river the best reports continued to be received from time to time : every where the settlers found a rich black mould of several feet depth ; and one man had in three months planted and dug a crop of potatoes. The natives, however, had given them such interruption as induced a necessity for firing upon them, by which, it was said, one man was killed.

At Toongabbe, where the Indian corn was growing, their visits and their depredations were so frequent and extensive, that the watchmen were compelled to fire on them ; and one party, considerable in number, after having been driven off, returning directly to the plunder, was pursued by the watchmen for several miles, when a contest ensued, in which the natives were worsted, and three of them left dead upon the spot. The watchmen, apprehensive lest their story, like many of the same nature which they had told, should be doubted, brought in with them, as a testimonial not to be disputed, the head of one of those whom they had slain.

At Sydney a large party of natives assembled for the purpose of burning the body of Carradah, the native mentioned in the transactions of the month of December, by the name of Midjer Rool. He had been put to death while asleep in the night by some people who were inimical to his tribe ; and the natives who witnessed the performance of the last rite assured the inhabitants, that when the murderers should be discovered several severe contests would ensue. It was at this time that the rencounter between Collins and Wyatt took place ; and some other points of honour which remained unsettled, were then determined, not without much bloodshed, though no one was killed.

Near four hundred acres were in the course of April sown with wheat on the public account, the price of which article was at the time twenty shillings a bushel. The crops of

Indian corn had in general turned out very productive : some on the light sandy soil yielded fifty bushels of shelled corn per acre, and a patch of Caffre corn growing in the like soil, produced as much. This grain had been brought from the Cape of Good Hope, and was found to answer well for fattening of stock. No one having attempted to separate the farinaceous part of the grain from the husk, which was of an astringent quality, no judgment had been formed of its utility as a flour; but some who had ground it and mixed the whole together into a paste, pronounced it to be equal to any preparation of oatmeal.

An inflammation of the eyes was generally prevalent among all descriptions of people at this time. It raged at first among children; but when it got into a house, scarcely any person in it escaped the complaint. It was accounted for by the variable weather which had prevailed.

CHAP. XVII.

Excursion into the Interior—Arrival of a Storeship—Full Ration ordered—Other Vessels arrive—Unfavourable reports at home respecting the Colony—Robbery—Murder of Captain Hill and his boat's crew at Tate's Island—Hardened Villany of some convicts—Excursion to the Western Mountains—Various Transactions—Natives—The Lieutenant-Governor leaves the Settlement—Recruits for the New South Wales Corps arrive—Captain Paterson assumes the Command—Deaths in 1794.

THE permission given to officers to hold lands had operated powerfully in favour of the colony, which was, in the opinion of most people, now making rapid strides toward that independence so long, and hitherto so vainly, wished for. These gentlemen were liberal in their employment of people; and such had been their exertions, that it appeared by a survey taken in the last month, that nine hundred and eighty-two acres had been cleared by them since that permission had

been received ; and it further appeared, that there had been cleared since Governor Phillip's departure in December 1792, two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two acres. It must here be remembered, that the colony had been supplied with no other grain than that raised within itself from the 16th day of December 1793.

Some natives, who had observed the increasing number of the settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury, and had learned that they were solicitous to discover other fresh-water rivers, for the purpose of forming settlements, assured them, that at no very great distance from Botany Bay, there was a river of fresh water which ran into the sea. As this was thought not to be improbable, two men of the military, who were deemed of sufficient judgment and discretion for the purpose, were sent out well armed and furnished with provisions for a week. They set off from the south shore, and were accompanied by a native, as a guide, who professed a knowledge of the country, and named the place where the fresh water would be found to run. Great expectations were formed of this excursion, from the confidence with which the native repeatedly asserted the existence of a fresh water river. On the 20th, however, the party returned, with an account, that the native had very soon walked beyond his own knowledge of the country, and trusted to them to bring him safe back ; that having penetrated about twenty miles to the southward of Botany Bay, they came to a large inlet of the sea, which formed a small harbour. The head of this they rounded, without discovering any river of fresh water near it. The country they described as high and rocky in the neighbourhood of the harbour, which, on afterwards looking into the chart, was supposed to be somewhere about Reed Point.* The native returned with the soldiers, as cheerfully and as well pleased as if he had conducted them to the banks of the first river in the world.

An excursion of a different nature was at this time framing among some discontented Irish convicts, and was on the point of being carried into execution when discovered. Among

those who had arrived in the last ships from Ireland, was a convict who had been an attorney in that kingdom, and who was weak enough to form the hazardous scheme, with several others, of seizing a long-boat, in which they were to endeavour to reach Batavia. A quantity of provisions, water-casks, sails, and other necessary articles, were provided, and were found, at the time of making the discovery, in the house of the principal. These people had much greater reason to rejoice at, than to regret, the discovery of their plot; for the wind, on the day succeeding the night in which they were to have gone off, blew a heavy gale; and, as there were no professed seamen in the party, it was next to impossible but that the boat must be lost. The greatest evil that attended these desertions was the loss of the boats which were taken off; for the colony could not sustain much injury by the absence of a few wretches who were too idle to labour, and must be constantly whispering their own discontents among the other convicts.

On the 24th of May, the inhabitants of this hitherto ill-omened country had the satisfaction of seeing the Indispensable, a store ship, anchor in the cove from England, with a cargo consisting principally of provisions for the colony. From her they understood that she was the first of six or seven ships which were all to bring out stores and provisions, and which, if no accident happened in the passage, might be expected to arrive in the course of two months. The supply of clothing and provisions intended to be conveyed by them, together with what had been received by the William, was calculated for the consumption of a twelvemonth. The quantity which had now arrived formed a supply of flour for twelve weeks, beef for four ditto, pork for four ditto, and of pease for fourteen ditto.

In consequence of the supplies received by the Indispensable, the full ration of flour was directed to be issued, and the Commissary was ordered not to receive for the present any more Indian corn that might be brought to sale.

The arrival of the *Britannia* on the 1st of June gave general satisfaction, as many doubts about her safety had been created by some accounts which the master of the *Indispensable* had heard at the Cape of Good Hope, of the Bay of Bengal being full of French privateers. They learned from Mr. Raven, that he had been forced to go to Batavia instead of Bengal, having been attacked in the Straits of Malacca by a fleet of piratical Proas, which engaged him for six hours, and from whom he might have found some difficulty to escape, had he not fortunately killed the Captain of one of them when in the act of making preparations for boarding him. At Batavia he was informed, that his passage to Bengal was, by the number of French privateers which infested the Bay, rendered very precarious; he therefore determined to load the *Britannia* at Batavia, and, after some necessary arrangements with the Governor-General and Council, purchased a cargo consisting of beef, pork, sugar and rice.

At Batavia Mr. Raven learned, that the *Shah Hormuzear* sailed from thence for Bombay three months before he arrived there; and the report given by a convict of a disaster which befel the boat and people from that ship, in the passage through the Straits between New South Wales and New Guinea, was confirmed at Batavia. As, however, Mr. Bampton had not since been heard of, it seemed more than probable that he had fallen a prize to some of the privateers which were to be met with in those seas.

On the 8th, the *Speedy*, a storeship commanded by Mr. Melville, arrived with stores and provisions from England: and on the 14th, the *Halcyon*, a ship from Rhode Island, loaded on speculation with provisions and spirits, anchored in the Cove.

Mr. Page, the master, had made his passage from Rhode Island in one hundred and fifteen days, and without touching at any port. This gentleman, who had before speculated in that country, had in his return from thence stopped at the Island of Tinian, which place he now represented as well

calculated to furnish a freight of cattle for the colony. Of the conduct of several convicts whom he had taken home with him he gave no favourable account, nor any hope that they were reformed by having paid the penalty of their former crimes.

Captain Page at first thought he had come to a bad market with his provisions at least; for the day was at last arrived when the colonists found themselves enabled to say that they were not in want of any casual supplies; but by the end of the month he declared himself satisfied with the voyage that he had made.

It may safely be pronounced, that the colony had never before worn so favourable an appearance as at this period: the public stores filled with wholesome provisions; five ships on the seas with additional supplies; and wheat enough in the ground to promise the realizing of many a golden dream; a rapidly increasing stock; a country gradually opening, and improving every where upon the beholders as it opened; with a spirit universally prevalent of cultivating it.

The ships which had lately arrived from England were fraught with the dismal and ill-founded accounts, which, through some evil design, continued to be insidiously propagated, of the wretched unprofitable soil of New South Wales. It was hoped, however, that when the present appearance and state of the colony should reach England, every attempt to mislead the public would cease, and such encouragement be held out as would induce individuals to settle in the country.

In the Halcyon had arrived an American gentleman (Mr. W. Megee) in character of supercargo. This person, on seeing the Toongabbe hills covered with a most promising crop of wheat, declared that he had never seen better in America, even at Rhode Island, the garden of that part of the world; and, on being shewn some Indian corn of the last year's growth, gave it as his opinion, that they wanted nothing but large

herds of grazing cattle, to be a thriving, prosperous, and great colony, possessing within itself all the essential articles of life.

In addition to several most daring burglaries, a highway robbery had been committed in the course of the month. This was a species of depravity hitherto unknown in that country; and might, perhaps, be deemed one step toward refinement, as being at least a more manly mode of taking property, than that which the pilfering dark-loving knaves adopted. The present, like the meaner acts of villany, had its source in the same vice, namely gaming, which was still pursued with the utmost avidity and the most dexterous management; insomuch that they almost constantly defeated the peace-officers.

Among the few who had died in June was a convict of the name of Gillies. His death took place on the morning of the Speedy's arrival from England; by which ship a letter was received addressed to him, admonishing him of the uncertainty of life, recommending him early to begin to think of the end of it, and acquainted him with the death of his wife, a child, and two other near relations. He had ceased to breathe a few moments before this distressful intelligence would otherwise have reached him.

On the 5th of July another American ship from Rhode Island was announced, having on board a cargo of salted provisions and spirits, on speculation, and on the 8th the Indispensable and Halcyon sailed on their respective voyages, the former for Bengal, and the latter for Canton. By the latter some dispatches were sent, to be forwarded by the way of China to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the home department. On the day following the departure of those ships, the Fancy snow arrived from Bombay, having on board a small quantity of rice and dholl, intended as a part of the contract entered into by Captain Bampton, who, they now learned, had arrived safely at Bombay, after a long passage of seven months. Mr. Dell, the master of this vessel, had been

Mr. Bampton's chief mate in the *Shah Hormuzear*, and from him the following information was obtained.

The ships *Shah Hormuzear* and *Chesterfield* sailed, as before related, from Norfolk Island on the 27th of May 1798. On the 2d of the following month they fell in with an island which obtained the name of Tate's Island; and at which they had the misfortune to stove a boat. The circumstances of the murder of Captain Hill, Mr. Carter, Shaw, and the boat's crew, were related by Mr. Dell. It appeared from his account, that they had landed to search for fresh water, and purposed remaining one night on the island to barter with the natives, to procure emu feathers from them. The day after they were put on shore the weather changed, coming on to blow hard; the ship was driven to leeward of the bay in which they landed; and it was not until the third day that it was possible to send a boat after them. Mr. Dell was himself employed on this occasion, and returned with the melancholy account of his being unable to discover their lost companions. An armed force was sent on shore, but succeeded only in burning the huts and inclosures of the natives. At a fire they found some incontestable proofs that their friends could not be living; of three human hands which they took up, one, by some particular marks, was positively thought by Mr. Dell to have belonged to Mr. Carter; their great coats were found with the buttons cut off; a tinder-box, a lanthorn, a tomahawk, and other articles from the boat, were also discovered; but though they rowed entirely round the island, looking into every cove or creek, the boat could not be seen. Mr. Dell was, if possible, to procure two prisoners; but he could not succeed. In the intercourse, which he had with them, however, they gave him to understand, by signs, that they killed all who were in the boat, except two; at least, so Mr. Dell thought; but if it was so, nothing could be hoped from the exception, nor could any other conclusion be formed, than that they were reserved perhaps for more deliberate torture, and an equally horrid end.

This island was described as abounding with the red sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, plantains, bamboo, cocoa-trees, and man-groves. The natives, appeared stout, and were in height from five feet eight to six feet two inches; their colour dark, and their language harsh and disagreeable. The weapons which were seen were spears, lances made of a hard black wood, and clubs about four feet in length. They lived in huts resembling hay-cocks, with a pole driven through the middle, formed of long grass and the leaves of the cocoa-tree. These huts might contain six or eight persons each, and were inclosed with a fence of bamboo. In a corner of some of the huts which they entered, they perceived a wooden image, intended to resemble a man; in others, the figure of a bird, very rudely carved, daubed with red, and curiously decorated with the feathers of the emus; over these images were suspended from the roof several strings of human hands, each string having five or six hands on it. In some they found small piles of human skulls; and in one, in which there was a much larger pile of skulls than in any other that they had visited, they observed some gum burning before a wooden image.

This island was supposed to be about eight miles in length, five in breadth, and fifteen in circumference; a coral reef seemed to guard it from all approach, except on the north west part, which formed a bay, where the ship anchored in thirteen fathom water. Fresh water was seen only in one place.

The villains who had broken into Mr. Kent's house, had the audacity to send that gentleman a letter in miserable verse, claiming to themselves the honour of having been the robbers of the Parson's store-room. The letter was accompanied by a pocket-book belonging to Mr. Kent, with some of his papers; but none of the bills which were in it when it was stolen were returned. The insolence of this proceeding, and the frequency of those nocturnal visits, surprised and put all persons upon their guard; but that the enemy was within their own doors there was no doubt. An honest servant in that country was

an invaluable treasure ; they were compelled to take them, as chance should direct, from among the common herd ; and if any one was found who had some remains of principle in him, he was sure to be soon corrupted by the vice which every where surrounded him. The state of the colony called loudly for reform or punishment. The criminal Court was summoned, and two notorious offenders were condemned and executed ; another was severely punished ; but on being taken down from the halberts declared, with exultation, that all they could do should not make him better.

A passage over the inland mountains which form the western boundary of the county of Cumberland, being deemed practicable, a seaman (formerly quarter-master in the *Sirius*) set off in August, with a companion or two, determined to try it. After seven days absence they returned, with an account of their having penetrated twenty miles further inland than any other European. Hacking, the seaman, reported, that on reaching the mountains, his further route lay over eighteen or nineteen ridges of high rocks ; and that when he halted, determined to return, he still had in view before him the same wild and inaccessible kind of country. The summits of these rocks were of iron-stone, large fragments of which had covered the intermediate valleys, in which water of a reddish tinge was observed to stagnate in many spots. The soil midway up the ascent appeared good, and afforded shelter and food for several red kangaroos. The ground every where bore signs of being frequently visited by high winds ; for on the sides exposed to the south and south-east it was strewed with the trunks of large trees. They saw but one native in this desolate region, and he fled from their approach, preferring the solitary enjoyment of his rocks and woods, with liberty, to any intercourse with them. These hills appearing to extend very far to the northward and southward, an impassable barrier seemed fixed to the westward, and little hope was left of extending cultivation beyond the limits of the county of Cumberland.

By the return of the Francis schooner from Norfolk Island, it appeared that the harvest had been prodigiously productive ; in so much that Lieutenant-Governor King had purchased from the settlers upwards of eleven thousand bushels of maize ; and bills for the amount were drawn by him in favour of the respective settlers ; but, requiring the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Sydney, they were now sent thither. Mr King had been partly induced to make this provisional kind of purchase, under an idea that the corn would be acceptable at Port Jackson, and also in compliance with the conditions on which the settlers had received their respective allotments under the regulations of Governor Phillip ; that is to say, that their overplus grain and stock should be purchased from them at a fair market price. Being, however, well stocked with that article, the Lieutenant-Governor did not think himself justifiable in putting the crown to so great an expence, and declined accepting the bills. Mr King could, had it been wanted, have furnished twenty thousand bushels of maize, much of which must now inevitably perish, unless the settlers would, agreeably to a notification which the Governor intended to send them, receive their corn again from the public stores, which did not appear very likely, as several of them had already given up their farms on the Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island refusing to purchase their second crops ; and it was reported, that most of the marine settlers intended to follow their example.

As it was desirable, that those settlers who had become such from convicts should remain in that country, the only inducement which they could have would be that of raising to themselves a comfortable independence for the winter of their own lives, and the summer of their own progeny. Government must therefore encourage the settler, let him be the farmer, and be itself the purchaser. The Government could always fix its own price ; and the settler would be satisfied if it was such as enabled him to procure requisite comforts, and to lay by a portion of his emoluments for that day when he

could no longer till the field with the labour of his own hands. With such encouragement and prospect, New South Wales would hold out a most promising field for the industrious; and might even do more: it might prove a valuable resource and acceptable asylum for many broken and reduced families, who, for want of it, become through misfortunes chargeable to their respective parishes.

The weather throughout the whole of August had been very unpleasant and turbulent. Much rain had fallen, and the wind blow strong at south. On the 25th, the hot land-wind visited them for the first time that season, blowing until evening with much violence, when it was succeeded (as usually happened after so hot a day) by the wind at south.

On the first of September the *Britannia* sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, on a second speculation for some of the gentlemen belonging to the settlement. The *Speedy* also sailed on her fishing voyage, the master intending not to consume any longer time in an unsuccessful trial of that coast.

The Lieutenant-Governor early in this month thought it necessary to issue a public order, calculated to impress conviction on the minds of those settlers and others at Norfolk Island, who might think themselves aggrieved by his late determination of not ordering payment to be made for the corn purchased of them by Lieutenant-Governor King. It contained an assurance, that although he should on all occasions be ready to adopt any plan which the Lieutenant-Governor might devise for the accommodation or advantage of the inhabitants of Norfolk Island, yet in the late business he had made objections, because he did not consider himself authorised to ratify the agreement.

On the 10th the *Resolution* and *Salamander* storeship arrived. Immediately on their anchoring the governor was given to understand, that, from meeting with uncommonly bad weather between the Cape of Good Hope and Van Dieman's Land, the master's apprehended that their cargoes had sustained much damage. These gentlemen entered a

protest, in which they stated that their ships were much strained; the main piece of the Resolution's rudder sprang, and the sails and rigging of both worn out. During a tremendous gale of wind, according to the superstitious seamen, and which they took care to insert in their protest, blue lights were seen dancing on each mast-head and yard in the Salamander.

By these ships they learned his Majesty's appointment of John Hunter, Esq. to be Governor, in the room of Captain Phillip, who had resigned his office. Mr Phillip's services, they understood, had been remunerated by a pension of five hundred a year.

On the 17th of the month there was a violent gale of wind at south-west; and at Parramatta, during the gale, a public granary, in which were upwards of two thousand four hundred bushels of shelled maize, caught fire, through the carelessness of some servants who were boiling food for stock close to the building; and all the corn, together with a number of fine hogs, the property of an individual, were destroyed.

Some severe contests among the natives took place during the month of August in and about the town of Sydney. In fact, the inhabitants still knew very little of the manners and customs of these people, notwithstanding the advantage which they possessed in the constant residence of many of them, and the desire that they shewed of cultivating their friendship. At the Hawkesbury they were not so friendly; a settler there and his servant were nearly murdered in their hut by some natives from the woods, who stole upon them with such secrecy, as to wound and overpower them before they could procure assistance. A few days after this circumstance, a body of natives attacked the settlers, and carried off their clothes, provisions, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. The sufferers collected what arms they could, and, following them, seven or eight of the plunderers were killed upon the spot. This mode of treating them had become absolutely necessary, from the frequency and evil effects of their

visits; but whatever the settlers at the river suffered was entirely brought on them by their own misconduct: there was not a doubt but that many natives had been wantonly fired upon; and when their children, after the flight of the parents, have fallen into the settlers' hands, they have been detained at their huts, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of their parents to have them restored.

On the 26th, the *Dædalus* sailing with stores and provisions for Norfolk Island, two female natives, wishing to withdraw from the cruelty which they, with others of their sex, experienced from their countrymen, were allowed to embark in her, and were consigned to the care of the Lieutenant-Governor. One of them was sister to Bennillong; the other was connected with the young man his companion. Perhaps they wished to wait in peace and retirement the arrival of those who were bound to protect them.

On the 17th the *Mercury*, an American brig, anchored in the cove from Falkland's Island. The master had nothing on board for sale, but brought the welcome tidings of his having seen the officers of the Spanish ship *Descuicarta* at that place. Being in want of biscuit, he made application to the commodore Malaspina for a supply, proffering to settle the payment in any manner that he should choose to adopt; but the commodore, after sending him a greater quantity than he had required, assured him that he was sufficiently satisfied in having assisted a ship, whose people, whether English or American, spoke the language of those gentlemen from whom himself and the officers of the ships under his command had received, while in New South Wales, such attention and hospitality. Mr. Barnet understood that the *Atrevida* was in the neighbourhood, and that no loss or accident had happened in either ship since they left Port Jackson.

Some accounts were received from the Hawkesbury, which corroborated the opinion that the settlers there merited the attacks which were from time to time made upon them by the natives; it being now said, that some of them had seized a

native boy, and, after tying him hand and foot, had dragged him several times through a fire, until his back was dreadfully burnt, and in that state had thrown him into the river, where they shot at and killed him. Such a report could not be heard without being followed by the closest examination; when it appeared, that a boy had actually been shot when in the water, from a conviction, as they said, of his having been detached as a spy upon them from a large body of natives; and that he was returning to them with an account of their weakness; there being only one musket to be found among several farms. No person appearing to contradict this account, it was admitted as a truth; though many still considered it as a tale invented to cover the true circumstance, that a boy had been cruelly and wantonly murdered by them.

The arrival of the *Surprise* transport took place on the 25th. She had on board sixty female and twenty-three male convicts, some stores and provisions, with three settlers for the colony. Among the prisoners were, Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot, four gentlemen lately convicted in Scotland of the crime of sedition (considered as a public offence), and transported for the same. A guard, consisting of an ensign and twenty-one privates of the New South Wales corps, was on board the transport: six of these people were deserters from other regiments, and brought from the Savoy; one of them, it was understood, had been tried for mutiny, of an aggravated kind, at Quebec.

This mode of recruiting the regiment must have proved as disgusting to the officers as it was detrimental to the interests of the settlement. If the corps was raised for the purpose of protecting the civil establishment, and of bringing a counterpoise to the vice and crimes which might naturally be expected to exist among the convicts, it ought to have been carefully formed from the best characters; instead of which they now found a mutineer (a wretch who could deliberate with others, and consent himself to be the chosen instrument of the destruction of his sovereign's son,) sent among them,

to remain for life, perhaps, as a check upon sedition, now added to the catalogue of their other imported vices.

After an absence of eight weeks, the *Dædalus* returned from Norfolk Island; and on board her, ten of the marine settlers, who had given up their grounds in consequence of the disappointment which they experienced with respect to the corn bills, and had entered into the New South Wales corps. By her it was understood, that Philip Island had been found to answer extremely well for the purpose of breeding stock: some hogs, which were allowed to be placed there in August 1798, the property of an individual, had increased so prodigiously, as to render the raising of hogs there on account of Government an object with the Lieutenant Governor. The *Dædalus* immediately began preparations for her departure for England; and Lieutenant-Governor Grose signified his intention of quitting the settlement by that opportunity. This officer having set apart for each of the gentlemen who came from Scotland in the *Surprise* a bricked hut, in a row on the east side of the coves, they took possession of their new habitations; and soon declared, that they found sufficient reason for thinking their situations "on the bleak and desolate shores of New Holland," not quite so terrible as in England they had been taught to expect.

Every preparation for accommodating the Lieutenant-Governor and his family being completed on board the *Dædalus*, he embarked in the evening of the 15th. With him went the principal surgeon of the colony; also Mr. Bain, the chaplain of the New South Wales corps, and a surgeon's mate.

In the morning of the 24th of December the signal was made at the south-head for a vessel, which came in about three o'clock, and proved to be the *Experiment*, a ship, from Bengal, laden with spirits, sugar, piece-goods, and a few casks of provisions; the speculation being suggested by the agent for the Sugar Cane and Boddington. The *Experiment* had had a passage of three months from Calcutta.

The direction of the colony, during the absence of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, devolving upon the officer highest in rank then on service in the colony, Captain William Paterson, of the New South Wales corps, on Christmas-day took the oaths prescribed by his Majesty's letters patent. This officer, expecting every day the arrival of Governor Hunter, made no alteration in the mode of carrying on the different duties of the settlement now entrusted to his care and guidance.

The loss by death in the year 1794 was, two settlers; four soldiers; one soldier's wife; thirty-two male convicts; ten female convicts, and ten children; making a total of fifty-nine persons.

CHAP. XVIII.

Captain Paterson reforms Abuses—Natives—State of Lands near the Hawkesbury—Wilson a convict herds with the Natives—The Britannia arrives from the Cape—The Fancy returns from New Zealand—Contests with the Natives—The Endeavour arrives—Ration altered—The Providence arrives from England—Convicts picked up at Port Stephens—Flourishing State of Norfolk Island—Governor Hunter arrives.

THE present commanding officer, wishing to cultivate the ground belonging to Government, collected as many labourers as could be got together, and sent a gang, formed of bricklayers, brick-makers, timber-carriage men, &c. &c. to Parramatta and Toongabbe, there to prepare the ground for wheat for the ensuing season. At the muster which had been lately taken, fifty people were found without any employment, whose services still belonged to the public; most of these were laid hold of, and sent to hard labour; and it appear at the same time that some were at large in the woods, run-aways and vagabonds.

On the day following, the colonial schooner sailed for the river, having on board a mill, provisions, &c. for the settlers there. A military guard was also ordered, the commanding officer of which was to introduce some regulations among the settlers, and to prevent, by the effect of his presence and authority, the commission of those enormities which disgraced that settlement.

In the course of the month, as a convict entered the door of his hut, he was bit in the foot by a black snake; the effect was, an immediate swelling of the foot, leg, and thigh, and a large tumour in the groin. The Surgeon was fortunately able to reduce all those swellings by frequently bathing the parts with oil, and saved the man's life without having recourse to amputation. While the inhabitants had lived in a wood, and might naturally have expected to have been troubled with them, snakes and other reptiles were by no means so often seen, as since, by clearing and opening the country about them, the natives had not had opportunities of setting the woods so frequent on fire. But now they were often met in the different paths about the settlements, basking at mid-day in the sunshine, and particularly after a shower of rain.

Much was heard and seen of the natives in the month of January. At the Hawkesbury a man had been wounded by some of the wood tribe. Two female natives were murdered not far from the town of Sydney during the night; and another victim, also a female, of Pe-mul-wy's party, having been secured by the males of a tribe inimical to him, was dragged into the woods, where they exercised every act of cruelty and brutal lust upon her, which their spirit of revenge suggested.

The principal labour performed in January was, preparing the ground for wheat. The Indian corn looked very well; and the settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury supposed that at least thirty thousand bushels of that grain would be raised among them. Several native boys, from eight to fourteen years of age, were at this time living among the settlers in the different districts, and were found capable of being

made extremely useful; going cheerfully into the fields to labour; and the elder ones with ease hoed in a few hours a greater quantity of ground than that generally assigned to a convict for a day's work. Some of these were allowed a ration of provisions from the public stores.

In consequence of the heavy rains, the river at the Hawkesbury rose many feet higher than it had ever been known to do; by which several settlers suffered very much. At Toongabbe the wheat belonging to Government was considerably injured. At Parramatta the damage was extensive: the bridge over the creek, which had been well constructed, was entirely swept away, and the boats with their moorings carried down the river.

Some officers who had made an excursion to the Hawkesbury early in February, with a view of selecting eligible spots for farms, on their return spoke highly of the corn which they saw growing there, and of the picturesque appearance of many of the settlers' farms. Those people told them, that in general their grounds which had been in wheat had produced from thirty to thirty-six bushels an acre; that they found one bushel (or on some spots five pecks) of seed sufficient to sow an acre; and that, if sown as early as the month of April or May, they imagined the ground would produce a second crop, and the season be not too far advanced to ripen it. Their kitchen gardens were plentifully stocked with vegetables.

The master of the Francis schooner complained that the navigation of the river was likely to be hurt. The settlers having felled many trees into the water, he was apprehensive that they would drift ashore on some of the points of the river, when, in process of time, sand, &c. might lodge against them, and form dangerous obstructions in the way of craft which might be hereafter used on the river. No doubt remained of the ill and impolitic conduct of some of the settlers toward the natives; as, in revenge for some cruelties which the savages had experienced, they threatened to put to death three of them by name, and had, through mistake, actually

attacked and badly wounded others. These particulars were obtained through the means of one Wilson, a wild young man, who, (his term of transportation being expired,) preferred living among the natives in the vicinity of the river, to earning the wages of honest industry by working for settlers. He had formed something of an intermediate language between his own and theirs, with which he made a shift to comprehend most of what they wished to communicate; for they did not conceal the sense they entertained of the injuries which had been done them. As the gratifying of an idle wandering disposition was the sole object with Wilson in herding with these people, no good consequence was likely to ensue from it; and it was by no means improbable, that at some future time, if disgusted with the white people, he might join the blacks, and assist them in committing depredations, or make use of their assistance to punish or revenge his own injuries. Mr. Grimes, therefore, proposed taking him with him in the schooner to Port Stephens.

There were at this time several convicts in the woods subsisting by theft; and it having been reported, that three of them had been met armed, it became necessary to secure them as soon as possible. People were sent out immediately; and one of the wretched runaways was soon met with in the act of robbing a garden, and, refusing to surrender, was shot. The knowledge of his fate drove the others to a greater distance from the settlement.

About the latter end of the month the natives adjusted some affairs of honour in a convenient spot near the brick-fields. Those who lived about the south shore of Botany Bay brought with them a stranger of an extraordinary appearance and character; even his name had something uncommon in the sound, Gome-boak. He had been several days on his journey from the place where he lived, which was far southward. In height he was not more than five feet two or three inches; but by far the most muscular, square, and well-formed native that had been seen in that country. He fought well;

his spears were remarkably long, and he defended himself with a shield that covered his whole body. The inhabitants of Sydney had the satisfaction of seeing him engage with some of their friends, and of observing that neither their persons nor reputations suffered any thing in the contest. When the fight was over, on some of the gentlemen praising to them the martial talents of this stranger, the strength and muscle of his arm, and the excellence of his sight, they admitted the praise to be just; but hinted, that, with all these excellencies, when opposed to them, he had not gained the slightest advantage; yet, unwilling to have him too highly thought of, they with horror in their countenances, assured those with whom they talked, that Gome-boak was a cannibal.

On the 1st of March the Franois returned from Port Stephens; when the master reported, that he went into fresh water branches, up which he rowed, until, at no very great distance from the entrance, he found them terminate in a swamp. He described the land on each side to be low and sandy, and had seen nothing while in that harbour which in his opinion could render a second visit necessary. The natives were so very unfriendly, that he made few observations on them, other than that they were somewhat taller and a stouter race of people than those about Sydney: their language was entirely different. Their huts and canoes were something larger, and their weapons were the same. They welcomed him on shore with a dance, joined hand in hand round a tree, to express, perhaps, their unanimity; but one of them afterwards, drawing Mr. Grimes into the wood, poised a spear, and was on the point of throwing it, when he was prevented by young Wilson; who, having followed Mr. Grimes with a double-barrelled gun, levelled at the native, and fired it. He was supposed to be wounded, for he fell; but, rising again, he made a second attempt to throw the spear, and was again prevented by Wilson: the effect of this second shot was supposed to be conclusive, as he was not seen to rise any more. Mr. Grimes got back to his boat without further interruption.

The spirit of inquiry being on foot, an officer of the corps made an excursion to the southward of Botany Bay, and brought back with him some of the head bones of a marine animal, which, on inspection, Captain Paterson, the only naturalist in the country, pronounced to have belonged to that described by M. de Buffon, and named by him the Manatee.

On the 4th of March the Britannia returned from the Cape of Good Hope, having been gone six months. Mr. Raven brought alive to his employers, one stallion, twenty-nine mares, three fillies, and twelve sheep.

Towards the end of March some of the English witnessed an extraordinary transaction which took place among the natives at the brick-fields. A young man of the name of Bing-yi-wan-ne, well known in the settlement, being detected in an amour with Maw-ber-ry, the companion of another native Ye-ra-ni-be Go-ru-ey, the latter fell upon him with a club, and, being a powerful man, and of superior strength, absolutely beat him to death. Bing-yi-wan-ne had some friends, who on the following day called Ye-ra-ni-be to an account for the murder; when, the affair being conducted with more regard to honour than justice, he came off with only a spear-wound in his thigh.

The Toongabbe hills being reported to be worn out, it was determined to let them remain fallow for that season; and a spot called the Ninety Acres, and the hills between Parramatta and Toongabbe, which had before been prepared, were now sown. It being April, the farmers were every where putting their wheat into the ground, except at the river, where they had scarcely made any preparations, consuming their time and substance in drinking and rioting; and trusting to the extreme fertility of the soil, which they declared would produce an ample crop at any time without much labour. So silly and thoughtless were these people, who were thus unworthily placed on the banks of a river which, from its fertility, and the effects of its inundations, might not improperly be termed the Nile of New South Wales.

From the reduced state of the salted provisions, it became necessary (such had been but too often the preamble to an order) to diminish the ration of that article; and half the beef and half the pork was stopped at once. In some measure to render this great reduction lighter, three pints of pease were added. This circumstance induced the commanding officer, on the day when the alteration took place, to hire the *Britannia* to proceed to India for a cargo of salted provisions. Supplies might arrive before she could return; but the war in which England was engaged increased the chances against them. In the mean time, to save the salt meat as much as possible, such fresh pork as was brought in good condition to the store was purchased and served in the proportion of two pounds of fresh in lieu of one of salt.

On the 21st of April the Colonial schooner returned from the Hawkesbury, bringing upwards of eleven hundred bushels of remarkably fine Indian corn from the store there. The master again reported his apprehensions that the navigation of the river would be obstructed by the settlers, who continued the practise of felling the trees and rolling them into the stream. He found five feet less water at the store-wharf than when he had been there in February, owing to the dry weather which for some time past had prevailed.

At that settlement an open war seemed about that time to have commenced between the natives and the settlers; and word was received over-land, that two of the latter had been killed by a party of the former. The natives appeared in large bodies, men, women, and children, provided with blankets and nets to carry off the corn, (of which they appeared as fond as those natives who lived at Sydney,) and seemed determined to take it whenever and wherever they could meet with opportunities. In their attacks they conducted themselves with much art; but where that failed, they had recourse to violence; and on the least appearance of resistance made use of their spears or clubs. To check at once, if possible, these dangerous depredators, Captain Paterson directed a party of the

corps to be sent from Parramatta, with instructions to destroy as many as they could meet with of the wood tribe (Be-dia-gal); and, in the hope of striking terror, to erect gibbets in different places, whereon the bodies of all they might kill were to be hung. It was reported that several of these people were killed in consequence of this order; but none of their bodies were found (perhaps if any were killed they were carried off by their companions): some prisoners, however, were taken and sent to Sydney; one man (apparently a cripple), five women, and some children. One of the women, with a child at her breast, had been shot through the shoulder, and the same shot had wounded the babe: every care was taken of them that humanity suggested. The cripple in a short time found means to escape, and by swimming reached the north shore in safety, whence no doubt he got back to his friends. Captain Paterson hoped that by detaining the prisoners, and treating them well, some good effect might result; but finding, after some time, that coercion, not attention, was more likely to answer his ends, he sent the woman back. While she had been at the settlement the wounded child died; and one of the women was delivered of a boy, which died immediately. On the soldiers withdrawing, the natives attacked a farm nearly opposite Richmond Hill, and put a settler and his son to death: the wife, after receiving several wounds, crawled down the bank, and concealed herself among some reeds half immersed in the river, where she remained a considerable time without assistance; being at length found, this poor creature, after having seen her husband and her child slaughtered before her eyes, was taken into the hospital at Parramatta, where she recovered, though slowly, of her wounds. In consequence of this horrid circumstance, another party of the corps was sent out; and while they were there the natives kept at a distance. This duty now became permanent; and the soldiers were distributed among the settlers for their protection: a protection, however, that many of them did not merit.

Pe-mul-wy, or some of his party, were not idle about Sydney ; they even ventured to appear within half a mile of the Brickfield huts, and wounded a convict who was going to a neighbouring farm. As one of the most frequented walks from the town lay in that direction, this circumstance was at first very unpleasant ; but the natives were not seen there any more.

On the 11th, the pleasant intelligence of Mr. Bampton's arrival from Bombay was dispersed through the settlement. He commanded the *Endeavour*, a ship of eight hundred tons, and had on board one hundred and thirty-two head of cattle, a quantity of rice, and the other articles of the contract engaged in by Lieutenant-Governor Grose, except the salt provisions. She had been eleven weeks from Bombay. The cattle were, in general, in very good condition ; of the number arrived, forty were for draught, sixty for breeding, and the remainder calves ; but some of these so large, as to be valued and taken at fifteen guineas per head.

The cattle however seemed to suffer by their change of climate ; one cow and several calves died, perhaps as much from mismanagement as by the weather ; for, with very few exceptions, it was impossible to select from among the prisoners, or those who had been such, any who would feel an honest interest in executing the service in which they were employed. They would pilfer half the grain entrusted to their care for the cattle ; they would lead them into the woods for pasturage, and there leave them until obliged to conduct them in ; they would neither clean them nor themselves. Indolent, and by long habit worthless, no dependence could be placed on them. In every instance they endeavoured to circumvent ; and whenever their exertions were called for, they first looked about them to discover how those exertions might be turned to their own advantage. Could it then be wondered at, if little had been done since the establishment of the colony ? and must it not rather excite admiration to see how much had been performed ? Whatever was to be seen

was the effect of the most unremitting, and perhaps degrading vigilance on the part of those in whom the executive power had been from time to time vested ; and of the interest that many individuals had felt, in raising that country from its original insignificance to some degree of consequence.

On the first of July, the salted provisions being all expended, except a few casks, these were reserved for the non-commissioned officers and privates of the corps. On Saturday the 11th of the month the convicts received the following ration ; Indian corn 12 pounds (unground) ; Rice 5 ditto ; Dhol 3 pints ; Sugar 1 pound and a half ; being the first time since the establishment of the colony, that they had gone from the store without receiving either salted or fresh meat.

This being the state of the stores, it is not wonderful that supplies were most ardently desired. It was truly unfortunate that Mr. Bampton had not been able to procure any salted provisions at Bombay, but in lieu thereof had supplied rice, which could well have been spared, as they now began to grow grain sufficient for their consumption from crop to crop, and grain which was at all times preferred to the imports from India. Dhol and rice were never well received by the prisoners as an equivalent for flour, particularly when pease formed a part of the ration ; and it was to be lamented, that a necessity ever existed, of forcing upon them such trash as they had from time to time been obliged to digest.

The effects of this ration soon appeared ; several attacks were made on individuals, one wretch stole a very fine greyhound, and, instead of secretly employing him in procuring occasionally a fresh meal, he actually killed the poor animal and sold it to different people in the town for kangaroo at nine-pence per pound ; probably applauding himself for a trick that he thought would go down with the hungry ; but being detected in his villainous traffic, he was severely punished.

From the scantiness of salted provisions, the article of salt was become as scarce, One of the settlers lately arrived

caused it to be reported, that among other useful knowledge, he possessed that of making salt from sea-water, and offered his services for that purpose. His offers were accepted, and an eligible spot being chosen he began his operations, for which he had seven men allowed him; whose labour, however, only produced three or four bushels of salt in more than as many weeks.

Wilson, or as the natives termed him, Bun-bo-e, immediately after his return from Port Stephens with the deputy-surveyor, went off to the natives at the river. Another vagabond, who like himself had been a convict, thinking that there must be some sweets in the life which Wilson preferred, determined to share them with him, and went off to the woods. About the middle of the month they both returned to Sydney, accompanied by some of their savage companions. On the day following it appeared that their visit was for the purpose of forcing a wife from among their countrywomen; for in the midst of a considerable uproar, which was heard near the bridge, Wilson, and Knight his friend, were discovered, each dragging a girl by the arm (whose age could not have exceeded nine or ten years), assisted by their new associates. The two white men being secured, and the children taken care of, the mob dispersed; and Wilson and Knight were taken to the cells and punished. It was intended to have kept them in future at hard labour; but they found means to escape to those companions whom they preferred.

Toward the conclusion of August the natives were, during two days, engaged in very severe contests, in which much blood was shed, and many wounds inflicted; but no one was killed. It appeared to afford much diversion; for they were constantly attended by all descriptions of people, notwithstanding the risk they ran of being wounded by a random spear.

On the 26th, the settlement was gratified by the arrival of his Majesty's ship Providence, of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Broughton, from England; from whence

she sailed on the 25th of February, in company with his Majesty's ships *Reliance* and *Supply*, which she left at Rio de Janeiro some time in May. On board the former of these vessels was Governor Hunter, who might be daily expected. The *Providence* met with very bad weather on her passage from the Brazil coast, and was driven past the harbour of Port Jackson as far to the northward as Port Stephens, in which she anchored; and where, to the great surprise of Captain Broughton, he found and received on board four white people, (if four miserable, naked, dirty, and smoaked-dried men could be called white,) runaways from Parramatta in the month of September 1790, by name John Tarwood, George Lee, George Connoway, and John Watson: these, the reader will recollect, have before been mentioned as supposed victims to the folly of their undertaking. Their fifth companion (Joseph Sutton) had died. They told a melancholy tale of their sufferings in the boat; and for many days after their arrival they passed their time in detailing to the crowds, both of black and white people which attended, their adventures in Port Stephens, the first harbour that they made. Having lived like the savages among whom they dwelt, their change of food soon disagreed with them, and they were all taken ill, appearing to be principally affected with abdominal swellings. They spoke in high terms of the pacific disposition and gentle manners of the natives. Each of these had had a name given him; and given with several ceremonies. Wives also were allotted them, and one or two had children. They were never required to go out on any occasion of hostility, and were in general supplied by the natives with fish or other food, being considered by them (for so their situation only could be construed) as unfortunate strangers thrown upon their shore from the mouth of the yawning deep, and therefore entitled to their protection. They told a ridiculous story, that the natives appeared to worship them, often assuring them, when they began to understand each other, that they were undoubtedly the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in

battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again; and one native appeared firmly to believe that his father was come back in the person of either Lee or Connoway, and took them to the spot where his body had been burnt. On being told that immense numbers of people existed far beyond their little knowledge, they instantly pronounced them to be the spirits of their countrymen, which, after death, had migrated into other regions.

It appeared from the account of these four men, that the language to the northward differed wholly from any that had been known at Port Jackson. Among the natives who resided there, there was none who understood all that they said; and of those who occasionally visited at Sydney, one only could converse with them. He was a very fine lad of the name of Wur-gun. His mother had been born and bred beyond the mountains; but one luckless day, paying a visit with some of her tribe to the banks of the Dee-rub-bun (for so the Hawkesbury was named), she was forcibly prevented from returning; and, being obliged to submit to the embraces of an amorous and powerful Be-dia-gal, the fruit of her visit was this boy. Speaking herself more dialects than one, she taught her son all that she knew; and he, being of quick parts, and a roving disposition, caught all the different dialects from Botany Bay to Port Stephens.

On the 3d of September, after an absence of eleven weeks, the *Fancy* returned from Norfolk Island. The most favourable accounts were received by her from that settlement. Plenty reigned throughout. Every barn was full. Four thousand pounds of fresh pork having been cured, the Lieutenant-Governor had forty tons of salt provisions to spare; which he offered for the use of Port Jackson.

The 7th of the month was marked by the arrival of the Governor in Chief over these settlements. He came on board the *Reliance*, and was accompanied by the *Supply*. Situated as the colony was in point of provisions, they learned with infinite concern, that a storeship, from being too heavily load-

ed, had been compelled to return, and had yet to run the chance of being taken by the enemy's cruisers; and further, that by the two ships now arrived they had only gained a few barrels of meat salted at Rio de Janeiro; a town-clock, and the principal part of the large wind-mill.

His Excellency did not take upon him the exercise of his authority until the 11th; on which day his Majesty's commission was publicly read; after which his Excellency, in a very pertinent speech, declared the expectations that he had from every one's conduct; touching with much delicacy on that of the persons lately sent out for a certain offence (some of whom were present); and strongly urging the necessity of a general unanimity in support of his Majesty's government. He was afterwards sworn in by the judge-advocate. An address signed by the civil and military officers, on the occasion of his return among them as Governor, was presented to his Excellency a few days after his public appearance in that important capacity.

That he might as speedily as possible be acquainted with the state of the colony, he ordered a general muster to be taken, in order that correct accounts might be obtained of the number and distribution of every person (the military excepted) in the different districts; and he proposed in person to inspect the state of the several farms.

The Endeavour and Fancy sailed for India on the 18th. It was found, after their departure, that, notwithstanding so many as fifty persons, whose transportations had expired, had been permitted to leave the colony in the Endeavour, nearly as many more had found means to secret themselves on board her. This was the more vexatious, as the loss of even one man's labour had become an object of consequence at this time.

On the 4th of October there came into harbour the *Young William*, that store-ship whose return to port when Governor Hunter left England, had been so very much regretted in the colony. She had had a short passage of only four months

and nine days, having on board provisions only. Her arrival enabled the Governor to issue a better, though not so ample a ration of provisions as he would most willingly have done.

CHAP. XIX.

Regulations adopted by Governor Hunter—Mr Gerald arrives from England—Criminal Court held—Printing Press employed—The Cattle lost in 1788 discovered—Bennillong's conduct after his return from England—Arrivals—A Theatre opened—Stills destroyed—Transport arrives from Ireland—Black Cæsar shot.

THE report of the general muster which had been ordered, having been laid before the Governor, he thought proper to make some regulations in the assistance afforded by Government to settlers and others holding grants of land. To the officers who occupied grounds, was continued the number of men allowed them by Lieutenant-Governor Grose; viz. ten for agriculture, and three for domestic purposes. Notwithstanding this far exceeded the number which had at home been thought necessary, the Governor did not conceive the present to be the moment for reducing it, much as he wanted men. A wheat harvest was approaching; ground was planted with Indian corn; not a man was unemployed; but he saw and explained that a reduction must take place; that Government could not be supposed much longer to feed, maintain, and clothe the hands that wrought the ground, and at the same time pay for the produce of their labour, particularly when every public work was likely to stand still for want of labourers. He was sensible that the assistance which had been given had not been thrown away, and that the small number allowed by Government could never have produced such rapid approaches toward that independence which he thought, from what he had already seen of the cultivation of the country, was at that time much nearer than (at his leav-

ing it in 1791) he could have conceived possible. To the settlers who came in the *Surprise* he allowed five male convicts; to the superintendants, constables, and store-keepers, four; to settlers from free people, two; to settlers, from prisoners, one; and two serjeants of the New South Wales corps, one.

It appeared likewise by this muster, that one hundred and seventy-nine people subsisted themselves independent of the public stores, and resided in the town of Sydney. To many of these, as well as to the servants of settlers, were to be attributed the offences that were daily heard of; these people were indeed very great nuisances.

Every effort was made to collect together a sufficient number of working people to get in the ensuing harvest; and the muster and regulation respecting the servants fortunately produced some. The bricklayer and his gang were employed in repairing the column at the south-head; to do which, for wants of bricks at the kiln, the little hut built for Ben-ni-long, being altogether forsaken by the natives, the bricks of it were removed to the south-head. A person having undertaken to collect shells and burn them into lime, a quantity of that article was sent down; and the column, being finished with a thick coat of plaster, and whitened, was not only better guarded against the weather, but became a more conspicuous object at sea than it had ever been.

The 5th of November was doubly commemorated by the inhabitants of Port Jackson as a day of thankfulness, the Sovereign store-ship arriving from England loaded with provisions. In this ship came several passengers as settlers, or to fill employments in the different settlements. There likewise came as a prisoner Mr. Joseph Gerald, whose situation afforded another melancholy proof of how little profit and honour were the endowments of nature and education to him who perverted them. In this gentleman was seen, that not even elegant manners, evidently caught from good company, great abilities, and a happy mode of placing them in the best

point of view, the gifts of nature matured by education, could (because he misapplied them) save him from landing an exile, to call him by no worse a name, on a barbarous shore, where the few who were civilized must pity, while they both admired and condemned him. He arrived in a very weak and impaired state of health. By this ship they learned that two others with convicts might be expected in the course of the summer.

On the 7th a criminal Court was assembled ; when two convicts received sentence of death, and several were condemned to smaller punishments. On the 16th the two prisoners for execution were brought out. Smith, after warning the spectators to guard against breaking the sabbath, which he said had been the forerunner of his ruin, suffered. Whitehouse, being evidently the tool, and a much younger man, was pardoned by the Governor. His Excellency, after the execution, expressed in public orders, his "hope that neither the example which he had that day found himself compelled to make of one offender, nor the lenity which he had shewn to another, would be without their effect : it would always be more grateful to him to spare than to punish ; but he felt it necessary on that occasion to declare, that if neither the justice which had been done, nor the mercy which had been shewn, tended to decrease the perpetration of offences, it was his determination in future to put in execution whatever sentence should be pronounced by the Court on the several offenders."

A small printing-press, which had hitherto been useless from the want of a person who understood the art of printing, was now found very serviceable : a decent young man, of some abilities in that line, having lately arrived from England ; which enabled the Governor, by having his orders printed, to make them more generally known.

Some time after the arrival of the Sovereign, the full allowance of salt meat was issued, and the hours of labour regulated more to the advantage of Government than had for a considerable time (owing to the shortness of the ration) been the case.

Instead of completing in a few hours the whole labour which was required of a man for the day, convicts were now to work the whole day, with the intermission of two hours and a half of rest.

By the return of his Majesty's ship the *Supply*, from Norfolk Island, accounts were received of Lieutenant-Governor King being dangerously ill when she left that place; and that cultivation was nearly at a stand there. The grounds were so over-run with two great enemies to agriculture, rats, and a pernicious weed called cow-itch, that the settlers despaired of ever being able to get rid of either.

The contests which had lately taken place very frequently in the town of Sydney, and the neighbourhood of it, among the natives, had been attended by many of those people who inhabited the woods, and came from a great distance inland. Some of the prisoners gathered from time to time rumours and imperfect accounts of the existence of the cattle lost in 1788; two of them, who were employed by some officers in shooting, resolved on ascertaining the truth of these reports; and trying by different excursions to discover the place of their retreat. On their return from the first outset they made, which was subsequent to the Governor's arrival, they reported that they had seen them. Being, however, at that moment too much engaged in perfecting the civil regulations which he had in view for the settlement, his Excellency could not himself go to that part of the country where they were said to have been found, but he detached a person on whom he could depend. His report was so satisfactory, that on the 8th the Governor set off for Parramatta, attended by a small party; when, after travelling two days in a direction S. S. W. from the settlement at Prospect Hill, he crossed the river named by Mr. Phillip, the Nepean; and, to his great surprise and satisfaction, fell in with a very fine herd of cattle, upwards of forty in number, grazing in a pleasant and apparently fertile pasturage. The day being far advanced when he saw them, he rested for the night in the neighbourhood, hoping in the

morning to be gratified with a sight of the whole herd. A doubt had been started of their being cattle produced from what had been brought into that country by Governor Phillip from the Cape; and it was suggested that they might be of longer standing. The Governor thought this a circumstance worth determining, and directed the attendants who were with him to endeavour to get near enough to kill a calf. This they were not able to effect; for while lying in wait for the whole herd to pass, which now consisted of upwards of sixty young and old, they were furiously set upon by a bull, which brought up the rear, and which in their own defence they were obliged to kill. This, however, answered the purpose perhaps better than a calf might have done; for he had all the marks of the Cape cattle when full grown, such as wide-spreading horns, a moderate rising or hump between his shoulders, and a short thin tail. Being at this time seven or eight and thirty miles from Parramatta, a very small quantity of the meat only could be sent in; the remainder was left to the crows and dogs of the woods, much to the regret of the Governor and his party, who considered that the prisoners, particularly the sick at the hospital, had not lately received any meat either salt or fresh.

The country where they were found grazing was remarkably pleasant to the eye; every where the foot trod on thick and luxuriant grass; the trees were thinly scattered, and free from underwood, except in particular spots; several beautiful flats presented large ponds, covered with ducks and the black swan, the margins of which were fringed with shrubs of the most delightful tints, and the ground rose from these levels into hills of easy ascent.

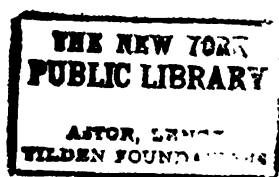
The question how these cattle came hither appeared easy of solution. The few that were lost in 1788, two bulls and five cows, travelled without interruption in a western direction until they came to the banks of the Nepean. Arrived there, and finding the crossing as easy as when the Governor had forded it, they came at once into a well-watered country, and

amply stored with grass. From this place they had no inducement to move. They were in possession of a country equal to their support, and in which they remained undisturbed. The settlers had not till then travelled quite so far westward ; and but few natives were to be found thereabouts ; they were likely, therefore, to remain for years unmolested, and securely to propagate their species.

It was a most pleasant circumstance, to have in the woods of New Holland a thriving herd of wild cattle. Many proposals were made to bring them into the settlement ; but in the day of want, if these should be sacrificed, in what better condition would the colony be for having possessed a herd of cattle in the woods ? a herd which, if suffered to remain undisturbed for some years, would, like the cattle of South America, always prove a market sufficient for the inhabitants of that country ; and, perhaps, not only for their own consumption, but for exportation. The Governor saw it in this light, and determined to guard, as much as was in his power, against any attempts to destroy them.

On his return he found some very fine ground at the back of Prospect Hill. The weather during this excursion was so intensely hot, that on one of the days, as the party passed through a part of the country which was on fire, a terrier dog died by the way.

Nothing was heard of the natives at the river : all was quiet there. About Sydney their attention had been for some time engrossed by Ben-nil-long, who arrived with the Governor. On his first appearance, he conducted himself with polished familiarity toward his sisters and other relations ; but to his acquaintance he was distant, and quite the man of consequence. He declared, in a tone and with an air that seemed to expect compliance, that he should no longer suffer them to fight and cut each other's throats, as they had done ; that he should introduce peace among them, and make them love each other. He expressed his wish, that when they visited him at Government-house, they would contrive to be





BEN-NIL-LONG IN HIS EUROPEAN DRESS.
Engraved for the History of New South Wales.

somewhat more cleanly in their persons, and less coarse in their manners; and he seemed absolutely offended at some little indelicacies which he observed in his sister Car-rang-ar-rang, who came in such haste from Botany Bay, with a little nephew on her back, to visit him, that she left her habiliments behind her. Ben-nil-long had certainly not been an inattentive observer of the manners of the people among whom he had lived: he conducted himself with great propriety at table, particularly in the observance of those attentions which are chiefly requisite in the presence of women. His dress appeared to be an object of no small concern with him; and every one who knew him before he left the country, and who saw him on his return, pronounced without hesitation, that Ben-nil-long had not any desire to renounce the habits and comforts of the civilized life which he appeared so readily and so successfully to adopt.

His inquiries were directed, immediately on his arrival, after his wife Go-roo-bar-roo-bool-lo; and here he found with Caruey. On producing a very fashionable rose-coloured petticoat and jacket made of a coarse stuff, accompanied with a gypsy bonnet of the same colour, she deserted her lover, and followed her former husband. In a few days, however, to the surprise of every one, the lady was seen walking unincumbered with clothing of any kind, and Ben-nil-long was missing. Caruey was sought for; and it was then discovered that he had been severely beaten by Ben-nil-long; who retained so much of English customs, that he made use of his fists instead of the weapons of his country, to the great annoyance of Caruey, who would have preferred meeting his rival fairly in the field armed with the spear and the club. Caruey being much the younger man, the lady, every inch a woman, followed her inclination, and Ben-nil-long was compelled to yield her without any further opposition. He seemed to have been satisfied with the beating that he had given Caruey, and hinted, that, resting for the present without a wife, he should look about him, and at some future period

make a better choice. His absence from the Governor's house now became frequent, and little attended to. When he went out he usually left his clothes behind, carefully resuming them on his return, before he made his visit to the Governor.

During November, one man and a woman, attempting to cross a creek at the Hawkesbury by a tree which had been thrown over, fell in and were drowned; and one man had died there, of the bite of a snake. Three male convicts died at Sydney.

The harvest was begun early in December; when the Cape wheat (a bearded kind of grain, differing much from the English) was found universally to have failed, and was pronounced not worth the labour of sowing.

A quantity of useful timber having been for some time past indiscriminately cut down upon the banks of the river Hawkesbury, and the creeks running from it, which had been wasted, or applied to purposes for which timber of less value would have answered equally well, the Governor, among other colonial regulations, thought it necessary to direct, that no timber whatever should be cut down on any ground which was not marked out on either the banks or creeks of that river: and, in order to preserve as much as possible such timber; as might be of use either for building or for naval purposes, he ordered the king's mark to be immediately put on all such timber; after which any persons offending against the order were to be prosecuted. This order extended only to grounds not granted to individuals, there being a clause in all grants from the crown, expressly reserving, under pain of forfeiture, for the use thereof, "such timber as might be growing or to grow hereafter upon the land so granted, which should be deemed fit for naval purposes."

The Governor, who had been afraid, from the existence of the cattle being established, that some of the vagabond convicts might be tempted to find them out, and satisfy their hunger by killing them from time to time, as they might find

opportunity, was not surprised to hear that two of them had been destroyed. A very strict inquiry into the report, however, convinced him that it had been raised only for the purpose of trying how such a circumstance would be regarded. His Excellency thought it necessary, therefore, to state in public orders, that "Having heard it reported, that some person or persons, who had been permitted to carry arms for the protection of themselves and property, had lately employed that indulgence in an attempt to destroy the cattle belonging to government, which were at large in the woods, he declared that if it should be discovered that any person whatever should use any measure to destroy or otherwise annoy them, they would be prosecuted with the utmost severity of the law." A reward was also held out to any person giving information.

The harvest having commenced, the Governor signified to the settlers, that "although it had hitherto been the intention and the practice of Government to give them every possible encouragement, as well as others who had employed themselves in growing corn, by taking off their hands all their surplus grain at such prices as had from time to time been thought fair and reasonable, it was not, however, to be expected, as the colony advanced in the means of supplying itself with bread, that such a heavy expence could be continued. He, therefore, recommended to them to consider what reduction in the price of wheat and Indian corn they could at present submit to, as their offers in that respect would determine him how far it might be necessary in future to cultivate on the part of Government, instead of taking or purchasing a quantity from individuals at so great a price. This proposal, he thought, could not be considered otherwise than as fair and reasonable, when it was recollected that the means by which individuals had so far improved their farms, had arisen from the very liberal manner in which government had given up the labour of so great a number of its own servants, to assist the industry of others. He further said, that if this representation should fail of the effect which he hoped

and expected, by procuring a reduction of the present high price of grain, he should think it his duty to propose, that those who were assisted with servants from government should at least undertake to furnish those servants with bread.

A report from the river was current at this time, that the natives had assembled in a large body, and attacked a few settlers, who had chosen farms low down the river, and beyond the reach of protection from the other settlers, stripping them of every article that they could find in their huts. An armed party was directly sent out, who, coming up with them, killed four men and one woman, badly wounded a child, and took four men prisoners. It might have been supposed, that these punishments, following the enormities so immediately, would have taught the natives to keep at a greater distance; but nothing seemed to deter them from prosecuting the revenge which they had vowed against the settlers for the injuries that they had received at their hands.

A report prevailed, that black Cæsar, a convict, and a savage of a darker hue, had in his life done one meritorious action, by killing Per-mul-wy, who had just before wounded Collins (the native) so dangerously, that his recovery was a matter of very great doubt with the surgeon at the hospital, whose assistance Collins had requested as soon as he had been brought into the town by his friends. A barbed spear had been driven into his loins close by the vertebræ of the back, and was so completely fixed, that all the efforts of the surgeons to remove it with their instruments were ineffectual. Finding, after a day or two, that it could not be displaced by art, Collins left the hospital, determined to trust to nature; and it was afterwards found that his trust had not been vain, though they saw him for several weeks walking about with the spear unmoved, even after suppuration had taken place; but they at last heard, that his wife had fixed her teeth in the wound and drawn it out: after which he recovered, and was able again to go into the field. During his illness, his wife War-re-weer shewed by an uncommon attention that her

attachment was superior to that of many a more polished female. Collins's recovery gave general satisfaction, as he was much esteemed by every white man who knew him, as well for his personal bravery, of which they had witnessed many distinguishing proofs, as on account of a gentleness of manners that strongly marked his disposition, and shaded off the harsh lines which his uncivilized life now and then forced into the fore ground.

At the Hawkesbury, in the beginning of the month, an extraordinary meteorological phenomenon occurred. Four farms on the creek were totally cut up by a fall, not of hail or of snow, but of large flakes of ice. It was stated by the officer who had the command of the military there, that the shower passed in a direction N. W. taking such farms as fell within its course. The effect was extraordinary; the wheat then standing was beaten down, the ears cut off, and the grain perfectly thrashed out. Of the Indian corn the large thick stalks were broken, and the cobs found lying at the roots. A man who was too far distant from a house to enter it in time, was glad to take shelter in the hollow of a tree. The sides of the trees which were opposed to its fury, appeared as if large shot had been discharged against them, and the ground was covered with small twigs from the branches. On that part of the race-ground which it crossed, the stronger shrubs were found cut to pieces, while the weaker, by yielding to the storm, were only beaten down. The two succeeding days were remarkably mild; notwithstanding which, the ice remained on the ground nearly as large as when it fell. Some flakes of it were brought to the officer on the second day, which measured from six to eight inches long, and at that time were two fingers at least in thickness. Nothing of this kind had been felt at Parramatta or at Sydney.

There died, during the year 1795, one assistant surgeon; one serjeant; two settlers; thirteen male convicts; seven female convicts, and one child; and one male convict was

executed. Making a total of twenty-six persons who lost their lives during the year.

On the first of January, the *Arthur* brig anchored in the Cove from Calcutta. Mr. Barber, the master, who had visited Port Jackson in 1794 in the same vessel, had been induced by the success that he then met with to pay a second visit to its inhabitants, with a similar cargo as to the nature of the articles, but of much larger value than that which he then sold. He had been thirteen weeks on his passage, and had heard nothing of the *Britannia*.

In consequence of the order issued respecting a reduction in the price of wheat, the settlers, having consulted among themselves, deputed a certain number from the different districts to state to the Governor the hardships they should be subjected to by a direction in the price of grain, at least for that season. He therefore consented to purchase their crops of wheat at ten shillings per bushel; but at the same time assured them, that a reduction would be made in the ensuing season, unless some unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances should occur to render it necessary.

The officer who held ground offered to give up two of the number of men that the Governor had allowed them, and to take two others off the provision store; which proposal was directed to be carried into execution.

Some of the more decent class of prisoners, male and female, having a short time since obtained permission to prepare a playhouse at Sydney, it was opened on the 16th, with the play of *The Revenge*, and the entertainment of *The Hotel*. They had fitted up the house with more theatrical propriety than could have been expected, and their performance was far above contempt. Their motto was modest and well chosen—"We cannot command success; but we will endeavour to deserve it." Of their dresses the greater part was made by themselves; but it was understood that some veteran articles from the York theatre were among the best that made their appearance.

At the licensing of this exhibition they were informed, that the slightest impropriety would be noticed, and a repetition punished by the banishment of their company to the other settlements; there was, however, more danger of improprieties being committed by some of the audience than by the players themselves. A seat in their gallery, which was by far the largest part of the house, as likely to be the most resorted to, was to be procured for one shilling; and, as much flour, or as much meat or spirits, as the manager would take for that sum, was often paid at the gallery door. It was feared that this, like gambling, would furnish another inducement to rob; and some of the worst of the convicts, ever on the watch for opportunities, looked on the play-house as a certain harvest for them, not by picking the pockets of the audience, but by breaking into their houses while the family might be enjoying themselves at the theatre.

Among other objects of civil regulation which required the Governor's attention, was, to remedy an evil of great magnitude. It appeared, that for a considerable time past they had been in the practice of making and vending a spirit, the quality of which was of so destructive a nature, that the health of the settlement in general was much endangered.

A practice so iniquitous and ruinous, being not only direct disobedience of his Majesty's commands, but destructive of the welfare of the colony in general, the Governor in the most positive manner forbade all persons, on any pretence whatsoever, to distil spirituous liquors of any kind or quality, on pain of such steps being taken for their punishment, as would effectually prevent a repetition of so dangerous an offence. The constables of the different districts, as well as all other persons whose duty it was to preserve order, were strictly enjoined to be extremely vigilant in discovering and giving information, where, and in whose possession, any article or machine for the purpose of distilling spirits might then be, or should hereafter be erected, in opposition to this notification of the Governor's resolution. In pursuance of these directions,

several stills were found and destroyed, to the great regret of the owners, who, from a bushel of wheat (worth at the public store ten shillings), distilled a gallon of a new and poisonous spirit, which they retailed directly from the still at five shillings per quart bottle, and sometimes more. This was not merely paid away for labour, as was pretended, but sold for the purpose of intoxication to whoever would bring ready money.

The many robberies which were almost daily and nightly committed, rendered it expedient that some steps should be taken to put a stop to an evil so destructive of the happiness and comfort of the industrious inhabitants. Several attempts had been made by the Commissary, to ascertain the number of arms in the possession of individuals; it being feared, that, instead of their being properly distributed among the settlers for their protection, many were to be found in the hands of persons who used them in shooting, or in committing depredations. It was attempted a second time to discover their number, by directing all persons (the military excepted) who were in possession of arms, to bring them to the Commissary's Office, where, after registering them, they were to receive certificates signed by him, of their being permitted to carry such arms.

Some few settlers, who valued their arms as necessary to their defence against the natives and against thieves, hastened to the office for their certificate; but of between two and three hundred stands of arms which belonged to the crown not fifty were accounted for.

Black Caesar was still in the woods with several others of his own stamp, all of whom were armed; and as he sent word, that he neither would return nor suffer himself to be taken alive, it became necessary to secure him. Notice was therefore given, that whoever should make him their prisoner, and bring him to the Governor, should be rewarded.

The settlers, and those people who were occasionally supplied with ammunition by the officers, were informed that if they should be hereafter discovered to have so abused the

confidence placed in them, as to supply those common plunderers with any part of this ammunition, they should be deemed accomplices in the robberies committed by them, and steps would be taken to bring them to punishment as accessories.

To relieve the mind from the contemplation of circumstances so irksome to humanity, on the 23d the Ceres store-ship arrived from England. It was impossible that a ship could ever reach that distant part of his Majesty's dominions from England, or from any other part of the world, without bringing a change to the ideas of its inhabitants, or even without giving some variety to their amusements. The introduction of a stranger among them had ever been an object of some moment; for every attention was considered as due to him who had left the civilized world to visit those so far removed from it. The personal interest that he might have in the visit was forgotten; and from the solicitude to hear news each contended who should be first in acts of hospitality. If he afterwards found himself neglected, it was because he was no longer a stranger; his intelligence was exhausted, and he had sunk into the mere tradesman.

This ship had on board stores and provisions for the settlement. She had touched at the island of Amsterdam in her way to Port Jackson, and taken off four men, two French and two English, who had lived there three years, having been left from a brig which was taken on to China by the Lion man of war. One of the Frenchmen, M. Perron, apparently deserved a better kind of society than his companions supplied. He had kept an accurate and neatly-written journal of his proceedings, with some well-drawn views of the spot to which he was so long confined. It appeared, that they had, in the hope of their own or some other vessel arriving to take them off, collected and cured several thousands of seal-skins, which, however, they were compelled to abandon. M. Perron and his companions had subsisted for the last eighteen months on the flesh of seals.

The day following this arrival the signal announced a second, which proved to be the snow experiment, commanded by Mr. Edward M'Clellan, who had before been in that country; and a few hours after, the ship *Otter*, from Boston in North America, anchored in the Cove. Mr. M'Clellan had on board a large investment of India goods, muslins, calicoes, chintzes, soap, sugar, spirits, and a variety of small articles, apparently the sweepings of a Bengal bazar; the sale of which investment he expected would produce ten or twelve thousand pounds.

The American, either finding the market overstocked, or having had some other motive for touching at Port Jackson, declared that he had nothing for sale; but that he could, as a favour, spare two hogsheads of Jamaica rum, three pipes of Madeira, sixty-eight quarter casks of Lisbon wine, four chests and a half of Bohea tea, and two hogsheads of molasses. He had touched at the late residence of M. Perron, the island of Amsterdam, and brought off as many of the seal-skins (his vessel being bound to China, after visiting the north-west coast of America) as he could take on board.

Benillong's influence over his countrymen not extending to the natives at the river, fresh accounts of their violence were received. They attacked a man who had been allowed to ply with a passage-boat between the port of Sydney and the river, and wounded him (it was feared mortally); and they were beginning again to annoy the settlers there.

Notwithstanding the reward offered for apprehending *Black Cæsar*, he remained at large; and scarcely a morning arrived without a complaint being made to the magistrates of a loss of property supposed to have been occasioned by him. In fact, every theft that was committed was ascribed to him or some of the vagabonds who were in the woods, the number of whom at this time amounted to six or eight.

On the 11th of February an addition of two hundred and thirty-three male and female convicts was given to the settlements by the arrival of the Marquis Cornwallis transport from

Ireland. This vessel was commanded by Mr. Michael Hogan, from whom it was learned, that a conspiracy had been formed to take the ship from him ; but, the circumstances of it being happily disclosed in time, he was enabled to prevent it; and, having sufficient evidence of the existence of the conspiracy, he caused the principals of those concerned to be severely punished, first taking the opinions of all the free people who were on board. A military guard, consisting of two subalterns and a proportionate number of privates of the New South Wales corps (principally drafts from other regiments), was embarked in his ship. The prisoners were in general healthy ; but some of those who had been punished were not quite recovered, and on landing were sent to the hospital. It appeared, that the men were for the most part of the description of people termed Defenders, desperate, and ripe for any scheme from which danger and destruction were likely to ensue. The women were of the same complexion, and their ingenuity and cruelty were displayed in the part that they were to take in the purposed insurrection ; which was, the preparing of pulverised glass to mix with the flour, of which the seamen were to make their puddings. What an importation !

The Marquis Cornwallis had stopped at the island of St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope. From the latter of which places they brought the pleasing intelligence of its having surrendered to his Majesty's arms, and being in possession of the English. General Craig, the commander in chief on shore, and Commodore Blankett, each sent an official communication of this important circumstance to Governor Hunter, and stated their desire to assist in any thing that might be of service to the settlement, when the season should offer for sending the ships under his orders to the Cape of Good Hope for supplies.

The gentlemen of the settlement heard with infinite regret of the death of Colonel Gordon, whose attentions to the colony, at every opportunity that presented itself, could never

be forgotten. He was indeed a favoured son of science, and liberally extended the advantages which that science gave him, wherever he thought they could promote the welfare of his fellow-creatures.

On the 15th a criminal court had met for the trial of two prisoners for a burglary, when information was received, that Black Caesar had that morning been shot by one Wimbrow. This man and another, allured by the reward, had been for some days in quest of him. Finding his haunt, they concealed themselves all night at the edge of a brush, which they had perceived him enter in the dusk of the evening. In the morning he came out; when, looking round him and seeing his danger, he presented his musket; but before he could pull the trigger Wimbrow fired and shot him, and he died in a few hours. Thus ended a man, who certainly, during his life, could never have been estimated at more than one remove above the brute, and who had given more trouble than any other convict in the settlement.

CHAP. XX.

Mr. Muir leaves the Colony—The ingratitude of Mr. Bampton punished—Further particulars respecting the fate of Captain Hill and Mr. Carter—Crops Bad—Natives—Bennillong—Gerald and Skirving die—Sale of Spirits—Arrivals—Officers come from Bengal to recruit—Governor visits Mount Hunter—Horrid effects of dissipation in the Colony—Regulations.

On the 11th sailed for the north-west coast of America the Otter, in which went Mr. Thomas Muir (one of the persons sent out for sedition), and several other convicts whose sentences of transportation were not expired. Mr. Muir conceived, that in withdrawing (though clandestinely) from that country, he was only asserting his freedom, and meant, if he should arrive in safety, to enjoy what he deemed himself to

have regained of it in America, until the time should come when he might return to his own country with credit and comfort. He purposed practising at the American bar as an advocate; a point of information which he left behind him in a letter. At Sydney he had chiefly passed his time in literary ease and retirement, living out of the town at a little spot of ground which he had purchased for the purpose of seclusion.

Discharging the store-ships formed the principal labour of the month; during one or two hot days of which, the shrubs and brush-wood about the west point of the cove caught fire, and burnt within a few yards of the magazine. On its being extinguished, the powder was removed for a few days on board the Supply, until some security against any future accident of that kind could be thrown up round the building.

By the return of the Reliance from Norfolk Island, accounts were received, that Mr. Bampton, who had left Port Jackson in September, on reaching Dusky Bay, in New Zealand, found his ship so leaky, that, with the advice of his officers and people, she was run on shore and scuttled. By great good fortune they found there a small vessel, which had been built by the carpenter of the Britannia, when left with the mate and others in that ship's first voyage from thence to the Cape of Good Hope. Her they completed and launched. It may be remembered, that in addition to the large number of persons which Mr. Bampton had permission to take from Port Jackson, nearly as many more found means to secret themselves on board his ship and the Fancy. For these, as well as his officers and ship's company, he had now to provide a passage from the truly desolate shores of New Zealand (a sufficient punishment for his ingratitude in taking them away). He accordingly, after fitting as a schooner the vessel which he had launched, and naming her the Providence, sailed with her and the Fancy for Norfolk Island, having on board as many of the officers and people who reached Dusky Bay with him as they could contain, leaving the remainder to proceed in a vessel which one of them undertook to construct out of

the Endeavour's long boat. The Fancy and Providence arrived safe at Norfolk Island, whence they sailed for China on the 31st day of January.

This unlucky termination of the voyage of the Endeavour, when added to the difficulties and dangers which Mr. Bampton had met with in the Shah Hormuzear, on his return to India, appeared sufficient to discourage him from again venturing to speculate in Port Jackson.

In the course of this narrative, the different reports received respecting the fate of the boat which landed on Tate Island, have been stated. In a Calcutta newspaper, brought to Sydney, they now found a printed account of the whole of that transaction, which filled up that chasm in the story which the parties themselves alone could supply.

By referring to the account given in the month of July 1794, as communicated by Mr. Dell, it will appear, that the ship, having been driven to leeward of the island after the boat left her, was three days before she could work up to it. When Mr. Dell went on shore to search for Captain Hill and his companions, he could only, at his return, produce what he thought incontestable proofs of their having been murdered; such as their great coats, a lanthorn, tomahawk, &c. and three hands, one of which, from a certain mark, was supposed to have belonged to Mr. Carter. Of the boat, after the most diligent search round the island, he could find no trace. By the account now published, and which bore every mark of authenticity, it appeared, that when the boat, in which these unfortunate gentlemen were, had reached the island on the 3d of July, 1793, the natives received them very kindly, and conducted them to a convenient place for landing. After distributing some presents among them, with which they appeared very much satisfied, it was proposed, that Messrs. Carter, Shaw, and Ascott, should proceed to the top of a high land which they had noticed, and that Captain Hill should stay by the boat, with her crew, consisting of four seamen belonging to the Chesterfield.

The inland party, taking the precaution to arm, and provide themselves with a necessary quantity of ammunition, set off. Nothing unfriendly occurred during their walk, though several little circumstances happened, which induced Ascott to suspect that the natives had some design upon them ; an idea, however, which was scouted by his companions.

On their return from the hill, hostile designs became apparent, and the natives seemed to be deterred from murdering them merely by the activity of Ascott, who, by presenting his musket occasionally, kept them off ; but, notwithstanding his activity and vigilance, the natives at length made their attack. They began by attempting to take Ascott's musket from him, finding that he was the most likely to annoy them ; directly after which, Mr. Carter, who was the foremost of the party, was heard to exclaim, " My God, my God ! they have murdered me." Ascott, who still retained his musket, immediately fired, on which the natives left them and fled into the bushes. Ascott now had time to look about him, and saw what he justly deemed a horrid spectacle, Mr. Carter lying bleeding on the ground, and Mr. Shaw with a large wound in his throat. They were both, however, able to rise, and proceed down the hill to the boat. On their arrival at the beach, they called to their companions to fire ; but, to their extreme horror, they perceived Captain Hill and one of the seamen lying dead on the sand, cut and mangled in a most barbarous manner. Two others of the seamen they saw floating on the water, with their throats cut from ear to ear. The fourth sailor they found dead in the boat, mangled in the same shocking manner. With much difficulty these unhappy people got into their boat, and, cutting her grapnel pulled off from this treacherous shore. While this was performing, they clearly saw the natives, whom in their account they term voracious cannibals, dragging the bodies of Captain Hill and the seamen from the beach toward some large fires, which they supposed were prepared for the occasion, yelling and howling at the same time most dismally. These wretch-

ed survivors of their companions having seen, from the top of the hill whither their ill-fated curiosity had led them, a large sand bank not far from the island, determined to run under the lee of it, as they very reasonably hoped that boats would the next morning be sent after them from the ship. They experienced very little rest or ease that night, and when daylight appeared found that they had drifted nearly out of sight of the island, and to leeward of the sand bank.

Deeming it in vain to attempt reaching the bank, after examining what was left in the boat, (a few of the trifles which they had put into her to buy the friendship of the natives, and Ascott's great-coat, but neither a compass nor a morsel of provisions,) they determined, by the advice of Shaw, who of these three miserable people was the only one that understood any thing of navigation, to run direct for Timor, for which place the wind was happily fair. To the westward, therefore, they directed their course, trusting to that Providence which had delivered them from the cannibals at Tate Island.

Without provisions, destitute of water, and almost without bodily strength, it cannot be doubted that their sufferings were very great before they reached a place of safety and relief. They left the island on the 3d of July, the day on which their companions were butchered. On the 7th, having on the preceding day passed a sand-bank covered with birds, they providentially, in the morning, found two small birds in the boat, one of which they immediately divided into three parts, and were considerably relieved by eating it. On the 8th they found themselves with land on both sides. Through these straits they passed and continued their course to the westward. All that could be done with their wounds was to keep them clean by opening them occasionally, and washing them with salt water. On the 11th, they saw land, and pushed their boat into a bay, all agreeing that they had better trust to the chance of being well received on shore, than to that of perishing in the course of a day or two more at sea. There they procured some water and a roasted yam from the

natives who also gave them to understand that Timor was to the southward of them. Not thinking themselves quite so safe here as they would be at Coupang, they again embarked. They soon after found a proa in chace of them, which they eluded by standing with their boat over a reef that the proa would not encounter. On the morning of the 13th they saw a point of land a-head, which, with the wind as it then was, they could not weather. They therefore ran into a small bay, where the natives received them, calling out "Bligh! Bligh!" Here they landed, were hospitably received, and providentially saved from the horror of perishing by famine.

This place was called by the natives Sarrett, and was distinct from Timor Land, which was the first place they refreshed at. They were also informed, that there was another small island to the northward, called by them Fardatta; but which in some charts was named Tanabor. They also understood that a proa came yearly from Banda to trade at Tanabor, and that her arrival was expected in the course of seven or eight months. They were much gratified with this information, and soon found that they had fallen into the hands of a hospitable and humane race of people. On the 25th of July, Mr. Carter's wound was entirely healed, after having had thirteen pieces of the fractured skull taken out. But this gentleman was fated not long to survive his sufferings. He remained in perfect health until the 17th of November, when he caught a fever, of which he died on the 10th of December, much regretted by his two friends (for adversity makes friends of those who, perhaps, in other situations would never have shaken hands).

The two survivors waited in anxious expectation for the arrival of the annual trading proa from Banda. To their great joy she came on the 12th of March 1794; they sailed for Banda on the 10th of April, and arrived there on the 1st of May following, where they were received with the greatest hospitality by the governor, who supplied them with every thing necessary for people in their situation, and provided

them with a passage on board an Indiaman bound to Batavia, where they arrived on the 10th of the following October; adding another to the many instances of escape from the perils which attend on those whose hard fate have driven them to navigate the ocean in an open boat.

Hard indeed was the fate of Captain Hill and Mr. Carter. They were gentlemen of liberal education, qualified to adorn the circles of life in which their rank in society placed them. How lamentable thus to perish, the one by the hands and rude weapons of barbarous savages, cut off in the prime of life and most perfect enjoyment of his faculties, lost for ever to a widowed parent and a sister whom he tenderly loved, his body mangled, roasted, and devoured by cannibals; the other, after escaping from those cannibals, to perish in a country where all were strangers to him, except his two companions in misery, to give up all his future prospects in life, never more to meet the cheering eye of friendship or of love, and without having had the melancholy satisfaction of recounting his perils, his escape, and sufferings, to those who would sympathize with him in the tale of his sorrows.

On the 10th of March the American sailed for the north-west coast of America. In her went Mr James Fitzpatrick Knaresbro', a gentleman whose hard lot it had been to be doomed to banishment for life from his native country, Ireland, and the enjoyment of a comfortable fortune which he there possessed. He lived during his residence at Parramatta with the most rigid economy and severe self-denial even of the common comforts of life.

It was remarked with concern, that the crops of this season proved in general bad, the wheat being almost every where mixed with a weed named by the farmers Drake. It was occasioned by the ground being overwrought, from a greediness to make it produce golden harvests every season, without allowing it time to recruit itself from crop to crop, or being able to afford it manure. At the Hawkesbury, where alone any promise of agricultural advantage was to be found, the settlers

were immersed in intoxication. Riot and madness marked their conduct; and this was to be attributed to the spirits that, in defiance of every precaution, found their way thither. Robberies were every where more frequent now than they had been for some time; scarcely a night passing without at least an attempt being made.

Reports were again received during the month, of fresh outrages committed by the natives at the river. The schooner which had been sent round with provisions saw some of these people off a high point of land named Portland Head, who menaced them with their spears, and carried in their appearance every mark of hostility. The governor being at this time on an excursion to that settlement (by water), one of his party landed on the shore opposite Portland Head, and saw at a shore distance a large body of natives, who he understood had assembled for the purpose of burning the corpse of a man who had been killed in some contest among themselves.

About this time BennHong, who occasionally shook off the habits of civilized life, and went into the woods for a few days with his sisters and other friends, sent in word that he had had a contest with his bosom friend Cole-be, in which he had been so much the sufferer, that until his wounds were healed he could not with any pleasure to himself appear at the governor's table. This notification was accompanied with a request, that his clothes, which he had left behind when he went away, might be sent him, together with some victuals, of which he was much in want.

On his again visiting the settlement, he appeared with a wound on his mouth, which had divided the upper lip and broke two of the teeth of that jaw. His features, never very pleasing, now seemed out of all proportion, and his pronunciation was much altered. Finding himself badly received among the females (although improved by his travels in the little attentions that are supposed to have their weight with the sex), and not being able to endure a life of celibacy, he had made an attack upon his friend's favourite, Boo-ree-a, in

which he was not only unsuccessful, but was punished for his breach of friendship, as has been related, by Cole-be, who sarcastically asked him, "if he meant that kind of conduct to be a specimen of English manners?"

Among the deaths which took place in March, was that of Mr. Joseph Gerald. A consumption which accompanied him from England, and which all his wishes and efforts to shake off could not overcome, at length brought him to that period when, perhaps, his strong enlightened mind must have perceived how full of vanity and vexation of spirit were the business concerns of this world; and into what a narrow limit was now to be thrust that frame which but of late trod firmly in the walk of life, elate and glowing with youthful hope, glorying in being a martyr to the cause which he termed that of freedom, and considering as an honour that exile which brought him to an untimely grave. He was followed in three days after by another victim to mistaken opinions, Mr William Skirving. A dysentery was the apparent cause of his death; but his heart was broken. In the hope of receiving remittances from England, which might enable him to proceed with spirit and success in farming, of which he appeared to have a thorough knowledge, he had purchased from different persons, about one hundred acres of land adjacent to the town of Sydney. He soon found that a farm near the sea-coast was of no great value. His attention and his efforts to cultivate the ground were of no avail. Remittances he received none; he contracted some little debts, and found himself neglected by that party for whom he had sacrificed the dearest connections in life, a wife and family; and finally yielded to the pressure of accumulated calamity. His conduct while in exile had been that of a pious, honest, worthy character: nor had his political principles ever manifested themselves; but all his solicitude seemed to be, to evince himself the friend of human nature.

Requiescate in pace !

Toward preventing the indiscriminate sale of spirits which prevailed in the settlements, the governor thought that grant-

ing licences to a few persons of good character might have a beneficial effect; ten persons were selected by the magistrates, to whom licences for twelve months were granted; and as, from the very frequent state of intoxication in which great numbers of the lower orders of people had for some time past been seen, there was great reason to suspect that a greater quantity of spirituous liquors had been landed from the different ships which had entered the port than permits had been obtained for, it became highly necessary to put a stop, as early as possible, to a practice which was pregnant with all kinds of mischief. The governor, therefore, judged it necessary, the more effectually to suppress the dangerous practice of retailing spirits in this indiscriminate way, not only to grant licences under the restrictions above mentioned, but to desire the aid of all officers, civil and military, as they regarded the good of his Majesty's service, the peace, tranquillity, and order of the colony, to use their utmost exertions for putting an end to a species of traffic, from which the destruction of health and the ruin of all industry were to be expected.

On the 18th of April the Supply returned from Norfolk Island, having been absent only three weeks and four days, the quickest passage that had been yet made to and from that island. She was followed a few hours after by the snow Susan from Rhode Island, having been at sea two hundred and thirty-one days, not touching any where on her passage.

The Americans were observed to make this voyage from motives of frugality, sailing direct for the port; but they were at the same time observed to bring in their people extremely healthy. On being questioned as to what methods they took to secure the health of their seamen, they replied, that in general they found exercise the best preventive against the scurvy, and considered idleness as the surest means of introducing it. In addition to exercise, however, they made frequent use of acids in the diet of their seamen, and of fumigations from tobacco in their between-decks. Certain it was that none of the ships which touched there from other ports

arrived so generally healthy. The cargo of the *Snow* consisted of spirits, broad-cloth, and a variety of useful and desirable articles, adapted to the necessities of the country.

On the last day of the month the Indispensable transport arrived from England, with one hundred and thirty-one female convicts, and a small quantity of provisions on board for their consumption.

In April and the preceding month many people, adults as well as children, were again afflicted with inflammations in the eyes. Its occurring at the same season as the year before, confirmed the medical gentlemen in the opinion firmly given, of the disorder originating in the variable weather.

Daily experience proved, that those people whose sentences of transportation had expired were greater evils than the convicts themselves, as many of them withdrew from receiving the ration allowed by government, only to avoid labour and to subsist by depredations.

On the 11th of May, to the general satisfaction of the settlement, the *Britannia* store-ship arrived from Calcutta and Madras, on private account; and one young mare, five cows and one cow-calf, of the Bengal breed, were brought for sale.

On board this ship came two officers of the Bengal army, for the purpose of raising two hundred recruits from among those people who had served their respective terms of transportation. They were to be regularly enlisted and attested, and were to receive bounty-money.

On the first view of this scheme it appeared very plausible; and it was imagined that the execution of it would be attended with good to the settlement, by ridding it of many of those wretches whom there was too much reason to deem the greatest nuisances: but when it was found that the recruiting officer was instructed to be nice as to the characters of those whom he should enlist, and to entertain none that were of known bad morals, the governor perceived that the settlement would derive less benefit from it than had been at first expected; particularly as there was reason to suppose, that

several settlers would abandon their farms, and, leaving their families a burden to the store, embrace the change which was offered. It was far better for the settlement, if any were capable of bearing arms and becoming soldiers in defence of their own lives and possessions; and, by embodying them from time to time as a militia, they would save to the public the expence of a regiment or corps raised for the mere purpose of protecting the public stores and the civil establishment of the colony.

Recruiting, therefore, from that colony for the Bengal army, being a measure that required consideration, and which the governor thought should first have obtained the sanction of administration, he determined to wait the result of a communication on the subject with the secretary of state, before he gave it his countenance. At the same time he meant to recommend it in a certain degree; as it was evident that many good recruits might be taken, without any injury to the interests of the settlement.

Previous to the departure of Mr. Hogan's ship for India, that gentleman had requested that an examination might be taken as to the circumstances of his conduct toward the convicts and others on board his ship during their passage from Ireland. This was accordingly done; when it appeared, that Mr. Hogan, but for the fortunate and timely discovery of it, would with his ship have fallen a sacrifice to as daring and alarming a conspiracy as, perhaps, ever had been entered into by a set of desperate wretches on board of any ship; and that nothing was left him, to save himself from the danger of a similar circumstance occurring during the voyage, but to inflict immediate punishment on the persons who were concerned in it.

The weather through the whole of May had proved very variable. The cattle brought by Mr. Raven, though in Smithfield they would not all together have been worth fifty pounds, were sold by auction at enormous prices. The mares went at

one hundred pounds, one of the cows at eighty-four pounds, and the other at prices little inferior.

The practice of purchasing the crops of the settlers for spirits had too long prevailed; and the Governor thought it absolutely necessary, by all means in his power, to put an end to it; for it was not possible that a farmer who should be idle enough to throw away the labour of twelve months, for the gratification of a few gallons of poisonous spirits, could expect to thrive, or enjoy those comforts which were only to be procured by sobriety and industry. From such characters he determined to withdraw the assistance of Government, since when left to themselves they would have less time to waste in drunkenness and riot.

On the 20th of June, the Governor, with a small party, undertook a second excursion to the retreat of the cattle. A few days previous to the Governor's departure, Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the *Reliance*, and two companions, set off in an attempt to round the mountains to the westward; but having soon attained the summit of the highest, they saw, at the distance of forty or fifty miles, another range of mountains, extending to the northward and southward. Mr. Bass reported, that he passed over some very fine land; and he brought in some specimens of a light wood which he met with.

The Governor was not long absent. He saw the cattle ranging as before, although not exactly in the same spot, in the finest country yet discovered in New South Wales; and ascended a hill which, from every point of view, had appeared the highest in the neighbourhood. The height of this hill, which obtained the name of Mount Hunter, was supposed to be near a mile from the base; and the view from the summit was commanding and full of grand objects, wood, water, plains, and mountains. Every where on that side of the Nepean the soil was found to be good, and the ground eligible for cultivation. The sides of Mount Hunter, though very steep, were clothed with timber to the summit, and the ground filled with the orchis root.

The knowledge derived from this excursion was, that the cattle had not been disturbed, and that they had increased : ninety-four were at this time counted.

About the same time the people of a fishing-boat returned from a bay near Port Stephens, and brought with them several large pieces of coal, which they said they found at some little distance from the beach, lying in considerable quantity on the surface of the ground. These people having conducted themselves improperly while on shore, two of them were severely wounded by the natives, one of whom died soon after he reached the hospital.

Toward the latter end of the month two men from each officer were ordered to join the public gangs, it being found wholly impracticable to erect, without more assistance, any of the buildings which had become indispensably necessary ; as store-houses, barracks, and houses for the assistant-surgeons. A church too, of more substantial materials than lath and plaster, was wanted both at Sydney and Paramatta ; as well as court-houses, or places where the courts of civil and criminal judicature might be held, and where the magistrates might meet to do the public business. The timber-carriages were now, instead of men, drawn by six or eight stout oxen ; and all the timber which was used for building or other purposes was brought to the pits by them. This was some saving of men ; but eight people were still employed with each carriage.

Among the many evils that were daily seen flowing from that state of dissipation which had found its way into the different settlements, it was much to be regretted that two men lost their lives by the hand of violence. On Tuesday the 9th of July, a seaman belonging to the Indispensable was shot at Sydney, in the house of the master boat-builder, by a convict servant of his ; and on the same day, at the Hawkesbury, John Fenlow, a settler, shot his servant, a convict. The latter of these unfortunate men lived but a few hours, and the seaman, after languishing several days, expired.

These transactions were productive of some internal regulations which had long been wanting. Several settlers, with whose conduct the governor had had but too much cause to be displeased, were at length deprived of all assistance from government, and left to the exercise of their own abilities; and all persons off the stores, who of course did not labour for government, were ordered forthwith to appear at Sydney, in order to their being mustered and examined relative to their respective terms of transportation; when certificates were to be given to such as were regularly discharged from the commissary's books, and the settlers were directed not to employ any but those which could produce this certificate.

Stock of all denominations was at this period fast increasing in the different districts: one officer, who was quitting the colony, sold to government a flock of goats, consisting of about one hundred animals,

CHAP. XXI.

The Britannia hired to proceed to England—Report of the Natives—A Settler executed for Murder—Church opened at Parramatta—Vessels return to England—Account of Stock—A murder committed—Lieutenant King returns to England—State of the Settlement in August, 1796—Provisions—Population—Price of various Articles—Remarks.

THE Britannia, which was fitting again for sea, was offered by the master to the Governor, for the purpose of going direct to England, if his Excellency should have any occasion to employ her in such a voyage; and there being at the time several soldiers unfit for service, with others whose engagements with the crown had expired, the Governor thought it advisable to ease government at once of these expences, by closing with Mr Raven's proposal, and accordingly chartered his ship for the purpose of conveying them to Europe.

The natives had of late appeared less troublesome than for some time past. The people of a fishing-boat, which had been cast on shore in bad weather near Port Stephens, met with some of these people, who, without much entreaty, or any hope of reward, readily put them into the path from thence to Broken Bay, and conducted them the greatest part of the way. During their little journey, those friendly people made them understand that they had seen a white woman among some natives to the northward. On their reporting this at Sydney, the unfortunate female was conjectured to be Mary Morgan, a prisoner, who it was now said had failed in her attempt to get on board the *Resolution* store-ship, which sailed in 1794. There was indeed another woman, who ran away a few days after the first settling in Sydney, and whose fate was not ascertained: if she could have survived the hardships and wretchedness of such a life as must have been her's during so many years residence among the natives of New Holland, how much information must it have been in her power to afford; but humanity shuddered at the idea of purchasing it at such a price.

Early in August John Fenlow was tried for the wilful murder of his servant, David Lane. The charge being fully made out, the prisoner received sentence to die; and on the following Saturday was executed, his body being delivered to the surgeons for dissection, pursuant to his sentence. The night before his execution he confessed that the murder which he committed had been premeditated. It could scarcely be supposed, that among the description of people of which the lower class was formed in New South Wales, any would have been found sufficiently curious to have attended the surgeons on such an occasion; but they had no sooner signified that a body was ready for inspection, than the hospital was filled with people, men, women, and children, to the number of several hundreds; none of whom appeared moved with pity for his fate, or in the least degree admonished by the sad spectacle before their eyes.

On the 23d of August the *Grand Turk* arrived from Boston, after a passage of five months from that port. She was loaded with spirits, tobacco, wine, soap, iron, linseed oil, broad-cloth, &c. &c. for the market of Port Jackson, Manilla, and Canton.

In September a temporary church was opened at Parramatta. Decent places of worship were now to be seen at the two principal settlements. At the time when Sydney was visited by the Spanish ships the clergyman preached wherever he could find a shady spot. The priest belonging to the commodore's ship, on observing that there was not any church built, lifted up his eyes with astonishment, and declared, that had the place been settled by his nation, a house for God would have been erected before any house for man.

The invalids and passengers who were returning to England in the *Britannia* being embarked, that ship, the *Reliance*, and the *Francis* schooner, hauled out of the Cove preparatory to their departure. As a proof that stock was not at this time falling in its value, one of the gentlemen sold two Cape cows and one steer for £189. The stock in the colony was of considerable extent and value, as will appear by the following account of it which was taken for the purpose of being transmitted to government:—

Account of live stock in the possession of government and the civil and military officers of the settlement, on the 1st of September, 1796.

Mares, 57; cows and cow calves 101; bulls and bull calves 74; oxen 54; sheep 1531; goats 1427; hogs 1869.

The wild cattle to the westward of the river Nepean were not included in this account. All kinds of poultry were numerous. The number of acres at the same time in cultivation were 5419.

It was satisfactory to those gentlemen who were now on the point of quitting that country to reflect, that they left it not only with a prospect of plenty before it, but with stores and granaries abundantly filled at the time. In the houses of

individuals were to be found most of the comforts, and not a few of the luxuries of life. For these the island was indebted to the communications that it had with India, and other parts of the world; and the former years of famine, toil, and difficulty, were now exchanged for years of plenty, ease, and pleasure.

A few days previous to the sailing of the ships, information was received of a most inhuman murder having been perpetrated on the body of a settler's wife, at the district of the Ponds. A female neighbour was accused by an accomplice of having committed this diabolical act, for the purpose of enriching herself with the property which she knew this unfortunate woman had in her house. She was immediately apprehended, and some part of the money found upon her, which left little doubt but the avenging arm of justice would fall upon her head.

On the 29th his Majesty's ship *Reliance*, and the *Britannia* hired transport, left Port Jackson. They were to touch at Norfolk island, for the purpose of taking on board Lieutenant-Governor King, who, from a long state of ill-health, had found himself compelled to apply for leave to return to England.

Mr Collins has presented us with the following accurate account of the state of this settlement in August, 1796:—

Salt provisions and grain in store :

Quality.				To last at the established Ration.	
				Weeks.	Days.
Beef,	..	..	..	31	1
Pork,	..	..	..	44	6
Total of salt meat				76	0
Pease,	..	..	..	22	0
Wheat,	..	..	.	29	1
Maize,	..	..	..	41	4
Sugar,	..	..	..	4	0

To consume this quantity of food, there were victualled

At Sydney.	..	..	2219
At Paramatta,	..	..	965
At the Hawkesbury	..	..	454

Making a total of 3638

There were 321 people off the public stores; which, added to the 3638 who were victualled, gave a general total of 3959 persons in the different settlements, of all descriptions and ages; not including those at Norfolk Island, in which settlement were 889 persons. To which add 3959 persons in New South Wales, there was found 4848 persons under the British government, in New South Wales and its dependencies.

The following were the prices of various articles, as they were sold at Sydney about the time the ships sailed, viz.—

STOCK.

Cows, 80*l*.
Horses, 90*l*.
Sheep, 7*l*. 10*s*.
Goats, 4*l*.
Turkeys, 1*l*. 1*s*.
Geese, 1*l*. 1*s*.
Fowls, full grown, 5*s*.
Ducks, 5*s*.

PROVISIONS.

Fresh pork, 1*s*. 3*d*. per lb.
Mutton, 2*s*.
Goat, 1*s*. 6*d*. per lb.
Kangooroo, 6*d*.
Fish, 3*d*.
Eggs, 2*s*. per dozen
Salted pork, 1*s*. per lb.
Salted beef, 8*d*. ditto.
Potatoes, 12*s*. per cwt.
Ditto, 3*d*. per lb.
Flour, 7½*d*.
Wheat meal (sifted) 4½*d*.
Ditto, (unsifted) 3½*d*.

Wheat, 12*s*. per bushel.

Barley, 10*s*. per ditto.

Pease, 7*s*. ditto.

Maize, 5*s*. ditto.

Ditto ground, 8*s*. do.

Cheese, 3*s*. per lb.

Butter, 3*s*. ditto.

White-wine vinegar, 6*s*. a gal.

GROCERIES.

Hyson tea, 1*l*. 4*s*. per lb.

Coffee, 2*s*. ditto.

Sugar, (soft) 1*s*. ditto.

Soap, 2*s*. ditto.

Virginia leaf tobacco, 5*s*. do.

Brazil, (roll) 7*s*. do.

Black pepper, 4*s*. do.

Ginger, 3*s*. do.

Pipes, 1*l*. 10*s*. per gross.

WINE AND SPIRITS.

Red port, 5*s*. per bottle.

Madeira, 4*s*. do.

Cape wine, 3*s*. do.

Rum, 5*s*. do.

Gin, 6s. do.	Coarse printed calicoes, 17.
Porter, 2s. do.	5s. ditto.
Beer made at Sydney, 1s. 6d.	Silk handkerchiefs, 12s. do.
INDIA GOODS.	ENGLISH GOODS.
Long cloth, from 3s. to 6s. per yard.	Black hats, from 15s. to 2l.
Calicoes, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. ditto.	Shoes, from 9s. to 13s. per pair.
Muslins, from 7s. to 12s. do.	Cotton stockings, from 6s. to 12s.
Nankeen, 10s. per piece.	Writing paper, 6s. per quire.

The beer mentioned in the preceding account as being made at Sydney, was brewed from India corn, properly malted, and bittered with the leaves and stalks of the love-apple, (*Lycopersicum*), a species of solanum, or, as it was more commonly called in the settlement, the Cape gooseberry; which was found to succeed so well, that a building proper for the business was erected by an individual at a considerable expence.

At this time the following prices were demanded and paid for labour and work done at Sydney and the different settlements, viz.—

A carpenter, for a day's work,	£ 0 5 0
A labourer for ditto,	0 3 0
For clearing an acre of ground,	3 0 0
For breaking up an acre of ground,	1 0 0
For threshing a bushel of wheat,	0 1 0
For reaping an acre of wheat,	0 10 0
The price of ground was from 12s. to 17. an acre.	

For making a pair of men's shoes,	0 3 6
For making a pair of women's shoes,	0 3 0
For making a coat,	0 6 0
For making a gown,	0 5 0

For washing, three-pence for each article was paid; and the person who washed found soap, &c. if a woman was hired, she had one shilling and sixpence for the day, and her meals.

The want of several public buildings in the settlement has already been mentioned. To this want must be added, as absolutely necessary to the well-being and comfort of the settlers, as well as the prosperity of the colony in general, that of a public store, to be opened on a plan, though not exactly the same, yet as liberal as that of the island of St. Helena; where the East-India Company issue to their own servants European and India goods, at 10 per cent. advance on the prime cost. Considering the immense distance of Port Jackson from England, a greater advance would be necessary; and the settlers and others would be well content, and think it equally liberal to pay 50 per cent. advance on the prime cost of all goods sent from England; for at this time they paid never less than one hundred, and frequently one thousand per cent. on what they had occasion to purchase. It might be objected, that government would not choose to open an account, and be concerned in the retail of goods; but any individual would find it to his interest to do this, particularly if assisted by government in the freight, and the inhabitants would gladly prefer the manufactures of their own country, to the sweepings of the Indian bazars.

CHAP. XXII.

Activity of the Governor—Two Murders committed—Profligacy of the Settlers at the River—Bennillong claims the Protection of the Governor—Houses numbered and watchmen appointed at Sydney—Proceedings of the Criminal Court—Executions—Man hung in Chains frighten the natives—A general Muster—Natives murder a Girl.

In a settlement which was still in a great measure dependant upon the mother country for food, it might have been supposed that the convicts would have endeavoured by their own industry to have increased, rather than by robbery and fraud to have lessened, the means of their support; but far

too many of them were most incorrigibly flagitious, which determined the Governor to proceed with activity in rectifying the abuses that had imperceptibly crept into the colony. According to this plan, he began by arranging the muster lists that had lately been taken; in which many impositions were detected, and the delinquents ordered to labour, after having inflicted on them such punishments as their respective offences seemed to demand: by this circumstance he was enabled to recover at least one hundred men for government work.

Exclusive of the advantage which attended the recruiting of the public gangs in this way, another point was established by this examination, the discovering of several who had been victualled from the stores beyond the period (eighteen months) which had been fixed, and considered by government as a sufficient time to enable an industrious man to provide for himself.

Directing his attention also to the morality of the settlement, a point which he could not venture to promise himself he should speedily attain, he issued some necessary orders for enforcing attendance on divine service, and had the satisfaction of seeing the sabbath better observed than it had been for some time past.

On the 16th, some people who went to cut wood at the North Shore found a man's hat, and a large hammer lying by it. One side of the hat had apparently been beaten in with the hammer, which was bloody; and much blood was also found in the hat, as well as about the spot where it was discovered. It was conjectured, that a man who had been working there with some carpenter's tools had been murdered; and upon its being made known to the Governor, several persons were sent to search for the body, which was found thrown over the cliff, and near the water side. The skull was found beaten in, which had doubtless occasioned his death.

This shocking circumstance was followed shortly after by another equally atrocious: a murder which was committed

by a riot on the person of a woman with whom he cohabited. It appeared that they had both been intoxicated, and had quarrelled on the night preceding the murder. This made the fifth circumstance of the kind which had occurred within the last twelve months; and so excessively abandoned were the people, that it was scarcely possible to obtain sufficient proof to convict the offender.

From the accession of numbers to the public gangs, the different works in hand at Sydney and Parramatta went rapidly on; among these, was the erection of a granary, seventy-two feet in length, and twenty-two in breadth. Boats were likewise sent round to the Hawkesbury for various articles, such as timber, shingles, and grain. It has been shown, in the preceding account of this colony, that the farms upon the fertile banks of that river were superior, in point of soil, to any near the principal settlement; and that, had they been in the hands of good and industrious characters, they would have produced abundant crops, and enriched their owners. But every day's experience evinced, that the people thus fortunately situated were, unluckily, some of the most profligate wretches in the colony; and their distance from the immediate seat of government added much to the inconvenience. Such of these farms as were situated on the low grounds were often found overflowed after very heavy falls of rain; but this circumstance was no way injurious to the farmer, unless it happened when the grain was ripening.

Among other local arrangements which took place, and were extremely useful, must be reckoned the numbering of the houses of the towns of Sydney and Parramatta, and dividing them into portions; with a principal inhabitant at the head of each division, who was charged with the peace and good order of the district in which he lived.

Bennelong, who had returned to all the habits of savage life, claimed the protection of the Governor from the menaces of several of his countrymen, who, he with much agitation informed him, had assembled in a considerable body near the

brick fields, to lie in wait for him; and where, if possible, they meant to kill him, he having, as they suspected, killed a man near Botany Bay. This he positively denied having done, and the Governor dispatched him to the place, guarded by some of the military, where he explained to his countrymen that he had not killed the man in question, or any man; and that the soldiers were sent with him, to convince them that the Governor would not suffer him, his old friend and fellow-voyager (it must be remembered that Bessillong returned from England with the Governor), to be ill-treated by them, on any false pretence; and that he was determined to drive every native away from Sydney who should attempt it. This threat had its effect. Many of them were much alarmed when they saw in what manner and by whom Bessillong was attended; and to be driven from a place whence they derived so many comforts, and so much shelter in bad weather, would have been severely felt by them.

In the first part of October the weather had been unfavourable; but about the middle some showers fell very seasonably for the harvest.

November opened with the arrival of the Prince of Wales, victualler, from England. She had sailed in company with the Sylph, which also had provisions for the settlement on board, but which did not arrive until the 17th.

The useful regulation of numbering the different houses in the town of Sydney, particularly those in the occupation of the convicts, was followed up by another equally serviceable, which directed the inhabitants of each four divisions of the town (for in that number it was portioned off), to meet, and from among themselves elect three of the most decent and respectable characters, who were to be approved by the Governor, and were to serve for the ensuing year as watchmen, for the purpose of enforcing a proper attention to the good order and tranquillity of their respective divisions.

Richard Atkins, Esq. having been directed to officiate as Judge Advocate of the colony, in the absence of Mr Collins,

who had filled that situation since the first establishment of the settlement, and who had now proceeded to England, a criminal court was held on the 23d, when sentence of death was passed upon eight prisoners who were capitally convicted; one, of the murder of the man whose body had been found on the north shore in the last month, and seven of robbing the public store-house at Sydney and the settlement at the Hawkesbury. Two others were found guilty of manslaughter.

Of these miserable people five were executed, pursuant to the sentence of the court. The public justice of the country being satisfied, the Governor extended the hand of mercy to the remaining three who had been condemned to suffer, by granting them a conditional pardon.

The court having ordered that Francis Morgan should be hung in chains upon the small island which is situated in the middle of the harbour, and named by the natives *Mat-te-wa-ye*, a gibbet was accordingly erected, and he was placed there, exhibiting an object of much greater terror to the natives, than to the white people, many of whom were more inclined to make a jest of it; but to the natives his appearance was so frightful—his clothes shaking in the wind, and the creaking of his irons, added to their superstitious ideas of ghosts (for these children of ignorance imagined that, like a ghost, this man might have the power of taking hold of them by the throat), all rendering him such an alarming object to them, that they never trusted themselves near him, nor near the spot where he hung, which until that time had ever been with them a favourite place of resort.

On the 16th of December, a general muster of all descriptions of people took place over every part of the colony at the same hour; for it had been found, that in mustering one district at a time, a deception had been successfully practised, by some running from one place to another, and answering to their names at each, thereby drawing provisions from both stores, having previously imposed themselves on the respective storekeepers as belonging to their district. This could

not, indeed, have long continued, if the storekeepers had been properly attentive to the directions which they received; but it was almost impossible to guard against the artful and well-contrived deceptions which these people were constantly playing off, to impose upon propriety, regulation, and good order.

It was observed with regret, that the savage inhabitants of the country, instead of losing any part of their native ferocity of manners by an intercourse with the Europeans among whom they dwelt, seemed rather to delight in exhibiting themselves as monsters of the greatest cruelty, devoid of reason, and guided solely by the impulse of the worst of passions: a striking proof of this was given by their conduct to a little native girl of seven years old, whom they inhumanly murdered. The father and mother of this poor child belonged to a party of natives who had committed so many depredations upon the settlers at the Hawkesbury, attended with such acts of cruelty, as to render them extremely formidable: inso-much that it became necessary to send an armed party in pursuit of them. They were soon found, and, being fired upon, the parents of this little female were among those who fell. She was with them at the time, and readily accompanied our people to the settlement, where she was received. Being a well-disposed child, she soon became a great favourite at Government-house, where she resided. This, and her being a native of the country of Broken Bay, excited the jealousy of some of the natives who lived at and about Sydney, which manifested itself in their putting her to death in the most cruel manner. The body was found in the woods, speared in several places, and with both the arms cut off; whence it was taken to Sydney and buried. The Governor was much incensed at this inhuman act, and, could he have discovered the offenders, would have severely punished them; but they had withdrawn into the woods.

The weather during the month had been very bad; heavy

rains prevailing, with thunder and lightning, and wind strong at east, which greatly retarded the getting-in of the harvest.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Governor visits Richmond Hill—Wheat Burnt—Excursion to Botany Bay—Excessive heat of the weather in January—A number of men not victualled by Government—The Natives attack the Settlers—Transactions in March—Report revived of a white Woman being with the Natives—Impositions of the public Baker—The Governor goes on another Excursion—A valuable Tree discovered—Weather.

THE Governor, always anxious to promote the good of the settlement by every means in his power, having determined to visit at that season the part of it which was situated on the banks of the Hawkesbury, set off towards the latter end of December, with a party of officers, by land, to Broken Bay, where they got on board the Colonial schooner, and continued in her two days, sailing up that pleasant river; but finding her progress too slow, they quitted her for some boats which had accompanied them; and by the end of the month had reached as high up as some farms which had lately been evacuated in consequence of the depredations that the owners of them had been exposed to from the numerous parties of natives. The ground hereabout was carefully examined to see if it would admit such a number of settlers as might be sufficient for the purpose of mutual protection; but it was found inadequate to that end, the limits of it on the banks of the river, where the soil was good, being much too narrow.

On the first of January, 1797, the Governor had reached the principal settlement, having occasionally landed to examine into the state of the different farms, as well as to settle disputes relative to property, and adjust differences between the settlers and their hired servants.

Having had previous notice, a general muster of these people took place; when many impositions were found to be still practised: after rectifying which, the Governor reminded several of the farmers that they were considerably indebted to the public store for the seed from which their present abundant crops had been produced, and directed that a quantity equal to that which they had borrowed should forthwith be repaid. This it was absolutely necessary to insist upon, as there were but very few among them who would have been found with principle sufficient to have done it of their own accord.

Before the party returned, they ascended Richmond-hill, on the summit of which a large smoke was made at noon; at the same time a similar smoke was made on Prospect Hill, which was very distinctly seen, and its bearings taken, to ascertain the relative situation of the two hills. This bearing, which was S. 35 deg. 00 min. E. by compass, gave, with the latitude observed on each, the distance between the two hills about eighteen miles in a direct line.

By this bearing, should there be occasion hereafter, a road through the woods, from the Head of the Hawkesbury, might be cut in the shortest and most direct way to Parramatta.

At the head of this river, and upon the banks of that named the Nepean, there was known to be a track of excellent land, as rich as any on the banks of the Hawkesbury which was then under cultivation, and where, at some future period, a settlement might be advantageously established.

The Governor, on reaching Toongabbe, had the mortification of seeing a stack containing eight hundred bushels of wheat burnt to the ground, and the country round this place every where in flames: unfortunately, much wheat belonging to Government was stacked there. The fire had broke out in the evening; the wind was high, the night extremely dark, and the flames had mounted to the very tops of the lofty woods that surrounded a field called the Ninety Acres, in which were several stacks of wheat. The appearance was alarming,

and the noise occasioned by the high wind, and the crackling of the flames among the trees, contributed to render the scene truly awful.

It became necessary to make every effort to save this field and its contents. The jail-gang, who worked in irons, were called out, and told, that if the wheat was saved by their exertions, their chains should be knocked off. By providing every man with a large bush, to beat off the fire as it approached the grain over the stubble, keeping up this attention during the night, and the wind becoming moderate towards morning, the fire was fortunately kept off; and the promise to the jail-gang was not forfeited.

Although at this season of the year there were days when, from the extreme heat of the atmosphere, the leaves of many culinary plants growing in the gardens were reduced to a powder, yet there was some ground for supposing that this accident had not arisen from either the heat of the weather or the fire in the woods. The grain that was burnt was the property of Government, and the destruction made room for as many bushels as could be destroyed, which must be purchased from the settlers who had wheat to sell. If, however, this was the diabolical work of designing selfish villains, they had art enough to baffle the most minute inquiry.

On the 19th of the month the Governor went on an excursion to Botany Bay, in order to explore George's River as far up as was practicable, and to examine the soil upon its banks, which he found to be of good quality, and considerable extent. This river, which was observed to run in a westerly direction about twenty-five miles up from Botany Bay, was, in many parts of its branches, exceedingly picturesque; and navigable for small craft, for at least twenty miles up. Some of its creeks, or branches, reached within a small distance of Prospect Hill. Between this river and Parramatta, the Governor, on his return, travelled through a thick bushy wood, covering an excellent soil.

Erecting a granary, completing a wind-mill, and repairing the public roads, formed the principal works during January; in which the weather had been most uncomfortably hot, accompanied with some severe thunder storms, during one of which both the flag-staff at the South Head, and that at the entrance of the Cove, on Point Maskelyne, were shivered to pieces by the lightning. The vast blazes of fire which were seen in every direction, and which were freshened by every blast of wind, added much to the suffocating heat that prevailed.

The natives excited some little degree of curiosity by assembling in the beginning of February at the lower part of the harbour; whither those belonging to Sydney immediately repaired, for the purpose, as it was reported, of meeting them in fight; but it proved to be nothing more than the usual ceremony which a native of Broken Bay underwent, of having several spears thrown at him, for having, as was said, killed a person belonging to Port Jackson. He went off unhurt, after sustaining the appearance of much rage and violence from the friends of the deceased.

Some heavy rain fell most seasonably during the latter part of the month, as it served to extinguish the still glowing embers of the vast fires which had surrounded the place, and which, being scattered over the country every dry and windy day, occasioned new and dreadful conflagrations.

It appeared by the books in which were entered the certificates granted to the convicts who had again become free people, that there were at this time not less than 600 men off the store; forming a vast deduction of labouring people from the public strength, and adding a great many chances against the safety of public and private property, as well as personal security.

Among other thefts committed during March was part of the sails belonging to the mill. Nothing could have more forcibly marked the inherent depravity of some of these miscreants; for this machine was necessary to the comfort of

those very incorrigible vagabonds who had thus for a time prevented its being of use to themselves or others. While the Governor was endeavouring to guard against the injuries that might be done by these depredators, and such as these, the settlers found themselves obliged to assemble for the purpose of repelling the attacks made upon them by the natives. The people at the Northern Farm had been repeatedly plundered of their provisions and cloathing by a large body of savages, who had recently killed a man and a woman. Exasperated at such cruel and wanton conduct, they armed themselves, and, after pursuing them a whole night, came up with a party of more than a hundred, who, on discovering that their pursuers were armed, fled; leaving behind them a quantity of Indian corn, some musket balls, and other things which they had plundered. They continued to follow, and traced them as far as the outskirts of Parramatta. Being fatigued with their march, they entered the town, and in about an hour after were followed by a large body of natives, headed by Pe-mul-wy, a riotous and troublesome savage. These were known by the settlers to be the same who had so frequently annoyed them; and they intended, if possible, to seize upon Pe-mul-wy; who, in a great rage, threatened to spear the first man that dared to approach him, and actually did throw a spear at one of the soldiers. The conflict was now begun; a musket was levelled at the principal, which severely wounded him. Many spears were then thrown, and one was struck in the arm; upon which the superior effect of the fire-arms was shewn them, and five were instantly killed. Unpleasant as it was to the Governor, that the lives of so many of these people should have been taken, no other course could possibly be pursued; for it was their custom, when they found themselves more numerous and better armed than the white people, to demand with insolence whatever they deemed proper; and, if refused, to have recourse to murder. This check, it was hoped, would have a good effect: and Pe-mu-wy, who had received seven buck-shot in his head and different parts

of his body, was taken extremely ill to the hospital. This savage was first known in the settlement by the murder of John McIntire in the year 1790; since which he had been a most active enemy to the settlers, plundering them of their property, and endangering their personal safety.

During March, upwards of 100 men had been occupied in agriculture at Toongabbe. A wind-mill was to be erected at Parramatta, where the stone-masons and carpenters were preparing the materials. At Sydney, a gang was employed in making bricks, where were also completing a large granary and a strong log-prison. All the public brick buildings were likewise undergoing a repair, being crumbling into ruins, as were all the boats belonging to Government: a new flag-staff had likewise been erected at the South Head. The weather had for the greater part of the month been very wet.

Some reports having again been circulated, respecting the situation of Mary Morgan, the woman said to be detained among the natives to the southward of Broken Bay, a boat, with some people who had volunteered their service, was sent to the north part of that harbour, where it was said she had been lately seen with some of her black friends. The people were directed, if possible, to bring her away, unless she preferred the life that she then led; upon which more than three years' experience would certainly enable her to decide. They were absent about ten days, and returned without success, not even having heard any thing of her. Though it would be difficult to imagine to what purpose the story of this woman's existence among the natives had been twice fabricated, yet that it had been a mere fabrication from the first was evident.

In consequence of some complaints which were laid before the Governor, relative to exorbitant demands made by the public bakers upon those who had occasion to employ them, and of the impositions practised as well in the quality as in the quantity of the bread returned in lieu of the flour or grain delivered to them; the Judge Advocate and two other magistrates were directed to hold a meeting for the purpose of in-

quiring into the business, as well as for examining and regulating the weights and measures which were at that time in use in the colony. An order was at the same time issued recommending to the settlers of every district, that, as much pains had been taken to establish, agreeably to their wishes, the rate of wages paid for all kinds of labour, they should now attend strictly to this regulation. There were reasons for suspecting that, notwithstanding the bond which they had entered into, rigidly to adhere to the regulations which had been established for their benefit, some among them were so very deficient in honest principles as to attempt by various means to evade the regulation, to the great injury of other more industrious and more honourable men. In order the more readily to detect a practice so shameful and iniquitous, the Governor judged it requisite to hold out a reward to those who would come forward and give such information as should be sufficient to prove the offence, by offering one-third of the sum forfeited to the informer. The settlers were also called upon to give information of any labouring man who, on offering himself for hire, should refuse to accept the regulated wages.

The natives at the Hawkesbury were in the month of April again very troublesome. After plundering one settler of all that they could carry away, they burned his dwelling-house and a stack of wheat.

On the 21st, as much wheat as the public granaries at Sydney, Parramatta, and the Hawkesbury, could contain, having been received, they were closed until the month of August following.

Toward the latter end of the month, the Governor, accompanied by some gentlemen of the settlement, set off from Parramatta, on an excursion, in which he meant to obtain some knowledge of the ground between Duck River and George's River, with respect both to its quality and quantity. This tract was walked over, and much excellent land was found, well provided with fresh water in chains of large deep ponds.

On this ground some of the marine corps, having completed their service, were desirous of being settled. Thence the Governor and his party proceeded down the river, and stopped at a point near Botany Bay, where they met with several parties of natives, among whom was Pe-mul-wy, who, having perfectly recovered from his wounds, had escaped from the hospital with an iron about his leg. He saw and spoke with one of the gentlemen of the party; enquiring of him if the Governor was angry, and seemed pleased at being told that he was not; notwithstanding which, there could be but little doubt that his savage brutal disposition would manifest itself whenever excited by the appearance of an unarmed man.

During the month of April, a tree was for the first time observed growing on the banks of the Hawkesbury, the bark of which, when soaked in water, and beaten, was found to be as good as hemp for cordage; spinning easily, and being remarkably strong. This tree grew from fifty to seventy feet high; its diameter was from the smallest size to a foot, and it appeared to be of quick growth. This was rather a fortunate discovery; for every kind of cordage belonging to the settlement was wholly expended.

Much rain had fallen during the month; and on the morning of the 27th a heavy squall of wind came on, which, for want of proper care on the part of those at the wind-mill, set it a-going in so violent a manner, that while flying round with great velocity, a running stone was broken to pieces; one of which so severely wounded the mill-wright that his life was despaired of.

CHAP. XXIV.

Natives—Shipwreck—Danger of travelling in the Woods—Arrivals from home—Runaways—New Gaol completed—Coal discovered—Bennillong—Boat seized—Hunter River discovered—People brought from New Zealand to Norfolk Island.

NOTWITHSTANDING the example which had lately been made of the natives, they were again exceedingly troublesome to the settlers, wounding their persons and destroying their property. The settlers in Lane Cove were so perpetually alarmed by them, that they collected their whole force, and, a few soldiers being sent to their assistance, went out in the night; when, being directed by their fires to the place where they lay, they discovered a large body of natives collected, no doubt for the purpose of attacking and plundering the settlers. Being unwilling to take any of their lives, a volley of musketry was fired over their heads, which so alarmed them, that they instantly fled, leaving behind them their spears, &c.

It was distressing to observe, that every endeavour to civilize these people proved fruitless. Although they lived among the inhabitants of the different settlements, were kindly treated, fed, and often cloathed, yet they were never found to possess the smallest degree of gratitude for such favours. Even Bennillong was as destitute of this quality as the most ignorant of his countrymen. It is an extraordinary fact, that even their children, who had been bred up among the white people, and who, from being accustomed to follow their manner of living, it might have been imagined, would be little disposed to relish the life of their parents, when grown up, have quitted their comfortable abodes, females as well as males, and taken to the same savage mode of living, where the supply of food was often precarious, their comforts unworthy to be called such, and their lives perpetually in danger. As a proof of the little personal safety which they enjoyed, a

young woman, the wife of a man named Ye-ra-ni-be, both of whom had been brought up in the settlement from their childhood, was cruelly murdered at the brick-fields by her husband, assisted by another native, Cole-be, who first beat her dreadfully about the head (the common mode of chastising their women), and then put an end to her existence by driving a spear through her heart.

When spoken to, or censured, for robbing the maize grounds, these people, to be revenged, were accustomed to assemble in large bodies, and burn the houses of the settlers if they stood in lonely situations, frequently attempting to take their lives; yet they were seldom refused a little corn when they would ask for it. It was imagined that they were stimulated to this destructive conduct by some runaway convicts, who were known to be among them at the time of their committing these depredations. In order to get possession of these pests, a proclamation was issued, calling on them by name to surrender themselves within fourteen days; declaring them out-laws if they refused; and requiring the inhabitants, as they valued the peace and good order of the settlement, and their own security, to assist in apprehending and bringing them to justice. The Governor also signified his determination, if any of the natives were taken in the act of robbing the settlers, to hang them in chains near the spot as an example to others. Could it have been foreseen, that it was their natural temper, it would have been wiser to have kept them at a distance, and in fear; which might have been effected without so much of that severity which their conduct had sometimes caused to be exercised toward them. But the kindness which had been shewn them, and the familiar intercourse with the white people in which they had been indulged, tended only to make them acquainted with those concerns in which they were the most vulnerable, and brought on all the evils that they suffered from them.

On the 16th, his Majesty's ship Supply arrived from the Cape of Good Hope. She had met with much bad weather

on her passage, and being exceedingly infirm, her pumps had been kept constantly at work. This ship brought 31 cows, 5 mares, and 27 ewe sheep; all of which were in good health: 8 cows, 2 bulls, and 13 sheep, had died.

On the following morning, a boat which had been fishing to the southward of Botany Bay brought up to the settlement three persons, late belonging to a ship called the Sydney Cove, which had sailed from Bengal with a cargo for Port Jackson upon speculation. The Governor was informed by the supercargo (one of the three who had arrived), that the ship had sprung a dangerous leak before she had rounded the South Cape, which, as soon as they had got to the eastward of the southern part of the coast, increased to so great a degree, as to render it absolutely necessary to haul in for land; which they reached but just in time to ground the ship when she was dropping from under them, having actually sunk down to the fore channels when they ran her upon the ground, which they did on an island in lat. 40 deg. 37 min. south. They met with this misfortune in the middle of February; soon after which a certain number of them resolved to attempt reaching Port Jackson in the ship's long-boat, leaving the commander and about thirty people to stay by the wreck. The boat being prepared, seventeen people embarked in her, and sailed; but, meeting with much bad weather, they were again wrecked, being driven on shore on the coast near Point Hicks. Here they all landed, and endeavoured to travel northward, but dropped one by one, and lost each other daily, until the number was reduced to five, the three who had arrived (the supercargo, a sailor, and a lascar), the first mate of the ship, who had undertaken the navigation of the long boat, and the carpenter. These two, from excessive fatigue, had been unable to proceed any further, and had stopped the day before their companions in this miserable journey had been taken up by the fishing-boat.

To search for these unfortunate people, a whale boat was dispatched the following day, properly provided with such

comforts as were necessary for persons in their weak and wretched condition. They proceeded to the spot pointed out by Mr. Clarke, the supercargo, as that where they had lost sight of their companions; but after the most anxious endeavours could discover only some trifling articles, which were known to have been in their possession; and these being bloody, it was conjectured that they had been killed in their very helpless conditions by the natives, whom, in the course of their long march, they had found frequently very kind, and at other times extremely savage. To add to the probability of this having been their end, Mr. Clarke mentioned the morose, unfeeling disposition of the carpenter, who often, when some friendly natives had presented him with a few fish, growled that they had not given him all, and insisted, that because they were black fellows, it would be right to take it by force. By some illiberal and intemperate act of this nature, there was much reason to believe he had brought on himself and his ill-fated companion, the mate (a man cast in a gentler mould); a painful and premature death.

Mr. Clarke, and the two other people who arrived with him, were very much exhausted, and could not probably have borne up much longer against the toil that attends travelling in such a country as the unsettled part of New Holland every where presents. All possible attention, however, being paid to their situation, they quickly recovered their strength and spirits.

Several instances have already been given of the danger and difficulty that attended travelling through the woods; in which many people have either wandered till they died, or have been assassinated by the natives. Every caution that humanity could suggest had been given; yet even at this advanced period of the settlement an instance occurred which proved to how little purpose. A soldier, who had taken his passage in a boat to go to the Hawkesbury, prevailed on the crew to land him on the south shore of Broken Bay, intending to proceed to the settlement by land; but which he was never

able to accomplish. Several parties were sent in search of him, but they returned unsuccessful, and no doubt could be entertained of his end having been truly deplorable; as was that of a very fine girl of ten years of age, who about the same time was burnt to death by a stubble field having taken fire while she was in the midst of it. The flames were so rapid, that she was unable to escape from them, and perished in the most extraordinary and terrible manner.

On the 27th of May, the ship *Britannia* anchored between the heads from Ireland, having on board 150 male and 50 female convicts from that kingdom, with an officer and 25 recruits for the New South Wales corps. On the same day the colonial Schooner, and a long boat, sailed to the southward, to bring away the remainder of the ship's company belonging to the unfortunate Sydney Cove.

The want of cordage has been already mentioned. The settlement was likewise so much distressed for canvas, that the largest and best boat in it was useless from the want of sails.

Very little rain had fallen during May.

On the 2d of June, the *Ganges* arrived from Ireland, with convicts from that kingdom, and a detachment of recruits for the New South Wales corps. These convicts appeared in much better health than those lately arrived in the *Britannia*; indeed, the latter complained so much of having been ill-treated during the passage, that the Governor thought it right to institute an enquiry into their complaints; when it appeared that they had been deserving of punishment, but that it had been administered with too much severity, in the opinion even of the surgeon who was present. As these punishments had been inflicted by the direction of the master, without consulting any of the officers on board as to the measure of them, he was highly censured, as was also the surgeon, who could stand by and see them inflicted without remonstrating with the master; which he declined because he had not been consulted by him.

Early in June the Governor visited the settlement at Parramatta, for the purpose of examining that part of the country which he designed to cultivate on the public account ; and to observe how the convicts who had lately arrived, the major part of whom had been sent thither, were provided for. The cattle which had been landed from the Snpply had been also sent thither, and were, with the government stock at Toongabbe, thriving exceedingly.

The ground that it was proposed to clear on the public account was not more than two miles and a half from Parramatta, and most advantageously situated in point of fresh water, having a chain of large and excellent ponds in its vicinity. The spot was marked out by the deputy surveyor whereon to erect the necessary buildings ; and the whole was named Portland-Place.

In consequence of the proclamation which had been issued, one of the runaway convicts delivered himself up, and another was taken : they appeared to be half starved ; yet their sufferings were not sufficient to prevent similar desertions by others, nor a repetition of the offence in themselves ; such was the strong aversion which these worthless characters had to any thing that bore the name of work. More labour would have been performed by one hundred free people from any part of England or Scotland, than had at any time been derived from three hundred of these, with all the attention that could be paid to them. Had two hundred families of decent labouring farmers been sent out as settlers a few years since, and had a few convicts to assist them been placed wholly under their direction and authority, the cultivation would have been much further advanced ; and, in point of provisions, those families would have been living in luxury. More grain than could be consumed would have been grown, instead of crops which in some years were barely sufficient to last until the following harvest.

After exciting some apprehensions for her safety, his Majesty's ship the *Reliance* anchored in the Cove on the 26th,

from the Cape of Good Hope, having had a very stormy passage. She brought 26 cows, 3 bulls, and about 60 sheep.

The conclusion of June saw the finishing of the new gaol, which was surrounded by a strong and high fence. It was eighty feet in length, the sides and ends were constructed of strong logs, a double row of which formed each partition. The whole was divided into twenty-two cells, the divisions of which were logs. The floor and the roof were of the same solid materials, over which was a coat eight inches deep of stiff clay, and the roof was thatched. Every accommodation for prisoners was to be found in separate buildings in the prison yard; in which also was a distinct brick building for debtors, fenced off from the felon side (to use an Old Bailey distinction) by a strong and high paling. This, inclosing a spot of ground which had been marked out on the west side of the Cove for a ship yard, landing provisions from the transports, and completing the granary, had formed the principal labour in which the public gangs were employed during the month, throughout which the weather had been remarkably dry.

In the beginning of July, the *Francis* returned from the wreck of the *Sydney Cove*, bringing the remainder of her crew, except six, whom Captain Hamilton, her commander (and the only European belonging to her then alive), had left in charge of that part of her cargo which had been saved. The *Eliza* long-boat, which sailed from the island with them, had on board a few Lascars and some property; but having had to encounter a very heavy gale of wind, and not arriving with the schooner, many doubts were entertained of her safety. These were greatly augmented by a severe storm which came on twelve days after the arrival of the *Francis*. The wind blew a hurricane; doing much mischief, and the rain fell in torrents.

The cattle that arrived in the *Reliance* were landed, and looked extremely well. The two Colonial ships had been employed eight months on this voyage to and from the Cape,

and had added 51 cows, 3 bulls, a few horses, and about 90 sheep, to the stock of domestic cattle in the colony.

This species of provisions was multiplying largely ; but the salt meat was decreasing so fast, that it became necessary to issue only half the usual ration of pork.

Early in August, the *Britannia* and the *Ganges* sailed on their respective voyages. In the latter went several convicts who had become free, and some of the marine soldiers who had been discharged from the New South Wales Corps, having completed their second engagement in that regiment. They had talked of becoming settlers ; but the restless love of change prevailed, and they quitted the colony.

Mr. Clarke, of the ship *Sydney Cove*, having mentioned that, two days before he had met the people of the boat which had brought him to Port Jackson, he had fallen in with a great quantity of coal, with which he and his companions made a large fire, and had slept by it during the night, a whale-boat was sent off to the southward, with Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the *Reliance*, to discover where an article so valuable was to be met with. He proceeded about seven leagues to the southward of Point Solander ; where he found, in the face of a steep cliff, washed by the sea, a stratum of coal, in breadth about six feet, and extending eight or nine miles to the southward. Upon the summit of the high land, and lying on the surface, he observed many patches of coals, from some of which it must have been that Mr. Clarke was so seasonably supplied with fuel. He also found in the skeletons of the mate and carpenter of the *Sydney Cove*, an unequivocal proof of their having unfortunately perished, as was conjectured.

From the specimens of the coal which were brought in by Mr. Bass, the quality appeared to be good ; but, from its almost inaccessible situation, no great advantage could ever be expected from it ; and, indeed, were it even less difficult to be procured, unless some small harbour should be near it, it could not be of much utility to the settlement.

No circumstance deserving of attention had occurred for some time among the natives. On the 27th of the month, however, one of their young men stood the trial practised by his countrymen, for having killed some person in a quarrel. He stood manfully up against all their spears, and defended himself with great skill and address. Having had two shields split in his hand, by the spear passing through them, his friends, who were numerous, attacked his opponents, whom they disarmed, and broke their shields, with many of their spears.

It had been intended to have thrown some spears at Bennillong at the same time, from its having been reported that a female native, when dying, had declared she dreamed that Bennillong had killed her. Her friends, therefore, resolved to call him to an account, taking the business up on the supposition that the woman must have had some cause of complaint against him, or she could not have dreamed of his doing her an injury. To this accusation Bennillong pleaded not guilty, declaring that he was an entire stranger to the woman, and had never in his life offended her : but there were some who said that he actually wounded the woman, and had been the cause of her death ; which, to those acquainted with the temper and disposition of this savage, by no means appeared improbable. Added to this natural brutality, he was now become so fond of drinking that he lost no opportunity of being intoxicated, and in that state was so savage and violent as to be capable of any mischief. On those occasions he amused himself with annoying the women and insulting the men, who, from fear of offending his white friends, spared those notices of his conduct which he so often merited, and which sooner or later he would certainly meet.

The month of September commenced with a very vexatious circumstance. A boat, the largest and best in the colony belonging to government, was, on her passage to the Hawkesbury, whither she was carrying a few stores, taken possession of by a part of the boat's crew ; being at the same time board-

ed by a small boat from the shore, the people in which seized her and put off to sea, first landing the coxswain and three others, who were unwilling to accompany them, in Pitt Water in Broken Bay. These men proceeded overland to Port Jackson, where they gave the first information of this daring and piratical transaction. Two boats, well manned and armed, were immediately dispatched after them under the command of Lieutenant Shortland of the *Reliance*; but on the 19th, after an absence of 13 days, returned without discovering the smallest trace of them or the boat. Mr. Shortland's pursuit, however, had not been without its advantage; for on his return he entered a river which he named Hunter river about ten leagues to the southward of Port Stephens, into which he carried three fathoms water, in the shoalest part of its entrance, finding deep water and good anchorage within. The entrance of this river was but narrow, and covered by a high rocky island, lying right off it; so as to leave a good passage round the north end of the island, between that and the shore. A reef connects the south part of the island with the south shore of the entrance of the river. In this harbour was found a considerable quantity of very good coal, and lying so near the water side as to be conveniently shipped; which gave it, in this particular, a manifest advantage over that discovered to the southward. Some specimens of this coal were taken to Sydney.

About the same time an account was received from Norfolk Island, of the American snow *Mercury* having landed there the remainder of the people which had been left by Captain Bampton in Dusky Bay, when the *Endeavour* was wrecked there about twenty months before. The Governor, not having any vessel at Port Jackson fit for such a purpose, had expressed a wish to the master of the snow to that effect, when he was about leaving New South Wales; which service he performed under many difficulties, and brought off all that now remained of these unfortunate people, amounting to 85 in number.

CHAP. XXV.

The Deptford arrives from Madras—Excursion to the Cow-pasture—
 Another Boat carried off—Criminal Court—Natives troublesome—
 Ingratitude—An Amphibious Animal discovered—Weather—Various
 Particulars respecting the Natives—School at Sydney.

ON the 20th of September, the Deptford, a small brig, arrived from Madras, with a cargo of goods upon speculation for the Sydney market. The spirit of trade which had for some time obtained in the colony afforded an opening for adventurers to carry their goods to that settlement. The voyage from India was short and direct; and, from the nature of their investments, they were certain of finding a ready sale, and an ample return upon the original invoice. But this intercourse was found to be pregnant with great evil to the colony; for, preferring spirits to any other article that could be introduced, the owners never failed to make the rum of that country an essential part of every cargo. And though every possible measure was adopted to prevent all that arrived from being landed, yet, such was the avidity with which it was sought after, that, if not permitted, it was generally got on shore clandestinely; and very few ships carried back any of what they had brought. To this source might be traced all the crimes that disgraced, and all the diseases that injured the colony.

At the latter end of September a party set off on an excursion to the Cow-pasture Plains. On reaching Mount Taurus, a distinct herd of the wild cattle, 67 in number, was seen. It was conjectured, that this valuable collection of cattle had so considerably increased, as to find a convenience in dividing into different herds; thereby preventing those quarrels which might frequently happen among their males. This was confirmed by their falling-in with, in another place, a herd, in which there could not have been fewer than 170 of these

animals. A couple of days were pleasantly occupied in examining that part of the country, which exhibited the beautiful appearance of a luxuriant and well-watered pasturage. The latitude of Mount Taurus was found to be 34 deg. 16 min. S. and the river Nepean was discovered to take its course close round the south side of this hill. Two gentlemen of the party proposing to walk from Mount Taurus in as direct a line as the country would admit, to the sea-coast, a whale-boat was ordered to wait for them about five leagues to the southward of Botany Bay. They expected to have reached the coast in one day; but they did not reckon on having full 25 miles of a rugged and mountainous road to cross. Making their course a little to the southward of east, they fell in with the boat very conveniently; and Mr Bass, one of the travellers, described their route to have laid, the greatest part of the way, over nothing but high and steep ridges of hills, the land becoming more rocky and barren as they drew near the sea coast. In each of the vallies formed by these hills they found a run of fresh water, in some places of considerable depth and rapidity. The direction of these streams, or runs, being to the northward, they were supposed to fall into a harbour which lay about five or six miles to the southward of Port Solander, and had obtained the name of Port Hacking, the pilot of that name having had the honour of the discovery.

The month of October commenced with the loss of another boat, which was taken by some people who got unobserved out of the harbour. The three men who were put on shore from the former boat at the time she was seized upon, being in this party, it was supposed they were connected in some way with those who were in that boat, and whom they might know where to find. An armed boat from the Supply was immediately dispatched after them; but it returned as unsuccessful as Lieutenant Shortland had been.

From this circumstance, joined to the badness of the weather from the time of their departure, which had been un-

usually stormy, there was every probability of their having become the victims of their own temerity. In these two boats fifteen convicts had made their escape, six of whom had been transported for life; six others were from Ireland, of whose term of transportation no account had been sent out. Whatever might be the fate of these people, the evil was of great extent; since all that could be known of them to their fellow-prisoners was, that they had successfully effected their escape. Had Bryan and his party, who went off with one of the king's boats in the year 1791, instead of meeting with the compassion and lenity which were expressed in England for their sufferings, been sent back, and tried in New South Wales for taking away the boat, and other thefts which they had committed; it was probable that others might have been deterred from following their example.

Such was the increase of crimes, that thrice in October was the court of criminal judicature assembled. The offences that came under their cognizance were those of murder, perjury, and forgery; and two men were tried for having killed a native youth well known in the settlement; but it appearing to the court that he had been accidentally shot, they were acquitted. The natives certainly behaved ill, and often provoked the death they met with; but it is much to be feared that they had been on many occasions wantonly destroyed. One of the criminals was condemned to suffer death; another to be burned in the hand and imprisoned twelve months; two were banished to Norfolk Island, and three to stand in the pillory, to which their ears were to be nailed. These last, affording something like amusement to the mob, were sufficiently covered with dirt and rotten eggs.

It may be some relief to turn from the contemplation of such iniquity, though it should be only to the transactions of savages differing from these wretches but in complexion.

On the 20th of the month the settlement were spectators of a severe contest which took place between two parties of natives; one of which was desirous of revenging the death of

a friend, who had been killed by some native of a part of the country from which a young man had just then accidentally come amongst them. He was therefore immediately devoted to their vengeance. He most gallantly stood the attack of numbers, defending himself with the greatest bravery and address, until, being wounded in several places, he fell. As he lay upon the ground, several of his opponents treacherously rushed in upon him, and stabbed him repeatedly with a pointed stick, which they call a *Doo-ul*. In this situation he endeavoured to cover himself with his shield; on which, having risen from the ground, and being again attacked, he received their spears for some time with great dexterity; until some one, less brave and more treacherous than the rest, took a station unobserved on one side, and launched a spear, which went into his back and there remained. Seeing this, they were proceeding a second time to rush in upon him, when he had just strength enough left to make his escape into an adjoining house, where he received shelter, and from the severity of his wounds immediately fainted. The spear was withdrawn, and his wounds dressed by one of the surgeons who happened to be present, and he shortly recovered. His brother, who had accompanied him to the field of battle, stood up in his defence, and was also severely wounded. Several of their women attended on the occasion, and, as is common with them, howled and cried alternately during the fight; sometimes dancing and beating their sides with their arms; a certain proof of their passions being wrought up to the highest pitch.

Shortly after this, these people again exhibited themselves to the notice of the settlement, but in a very different point of view. On the 31st, an open boat arrived from the Hawkesbury, with a cargo of Indian corn, having been boarded in her passage by a party of natives in canoes. Assuming an appearance of friendship, they were suffered to come into the boat; when, watching an opportunity, they threw off the mask and made an attempt to seize the small arms. This occasioned a

struggle, in which the boat's crew prevailed; but not before some of these unexpected pirates had paid for their rashness with their lives. This business led to a discovery, that a boat belonging to a settler, which was supposed to have been driven out to sea and lost, with her crew and cargo of Indian corn, had actually been taken by the natives, after murdering those who were in her. The boat, on searching, was afterwards found in the possession of some of these people.

This was so novel a circumstance, that it could scarcely be credited; but it was no less true; and there was but little doubt, that the white people who were among them had been the unseen instigators of this mischief.

In the course of October, a strong and durable bridge, capable of sustaining any weight which it might have occasion to bear, was erected over Duck River, for the convenience of land carriage between the towns of Sydney and Parramatta.

The wheat every where wore the most promising appearance, and the weather had been very favourable for bringing it to maturity.

Decreasing daily, as did the number of working men in the employ of Government, yet the Governor could not refuse granting certificates to such convicts as had served their respective times of transportations; and no less than 125 men were at this time certified by him to be free. Most of these had no other view in obtaining this certificate, than as it enabled them to quit the settlement.

There being a scarcity of wheat in the public stores, owing to some local disappointments, the Governor was obliged to make a reduction in the weekly allowance of that article, until the crops of the approaching season should be gathered.

Among the acts which disgraced the month of November was one which bespoke uncommon depravity. A convict, who had formerly been the school-fellow of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, had been taken by that gentleman, who greatly compassionated his fallen state, into his service; where he reposed in him the utmost confidence, and treated him with

the kindest indulgence. He had not been long in his house before Mr. Johnson was informed that his servant, having taken an impression of the key of his store-room in clay, had procured one that would fit the lock. He scarcely credited the information; but, being urged to furnish him with an opportunity, he consented that a constable should be concealed in the house, on a Sunday, when all the family, this person excepted, would be attending divine service. The arrangement succeeded but too well. Concluding that all was safe, he applied his key, and was proceeding without any remorse to plunder the room of such articles as he wanted; when the constable, seeing his prey within his toils, started from his concealment, and put an end to his depredations by making him his prisoner.

Thus was this wretched being, without "one compunctious visiting of nature," detected in the act of injuring the man, who, in the better day of his prosperity, had been the companion of his youth, and who had kindly stretched out his hand to shelter him in the hour of his adversity.

Although the settlement of Port Jackson had now been established within one month of ten years, yet little had been added to the stock of natural history which had been acquired in the first year or two of its infancy. The kangaroo, the dog, the opossum, the flying squirrel, the kangaroo rat, a spotted rat, the common rat, and the large fox-bat (if entitled to a place in this society), made up the whole catalogue of animals that were known at this time; with the exception which must now be made of an amphibious animal, of the mole species, one of which had lately been found on the banks of a lake near the Hawkesbury. In size it was considerably larger than the land mole. The eyes were very small. The fore legs, which were shorter than the hind, were observed, at the feet, to be provided with four claws, and a membrane or web, that spread considerably beyond them; while the feet of the hind legs were furnished, not only with this membrane, or web, but with four long sharp claws, that projected as much.

beyond the web, as the web projected beyond the claws of the fore feet. The tail of this animal was thick, short, and very fat ; but the most extraordinary circumstance observed in its structure was, its having, instead of the mouth of an animal, the upper and lower mandibles of a duck. By these it was enabled to supply itself with food, like that bird, in muddy places, or on the banks of the lakes, in which its webbed feet enabled it to swim ; while on shore its long and sharp claws were employed in burrowing : nature thus providing for it in its double or amphibious character. These little animals had been frequently noticed rising to the surface of the water, and blowing like the turtle.

All those hands who were not employed on the public buildings were actively engaged in securing the abundant crops which every where promised to reward the industry of the settler and the labourer.

The weather in November had been, for the first and middle parts, very unsettled, blowing hard at times, with much rain. On one day there fell a shower of hail, the stones of which were each as large as a lark's egg. The latter part of the month was fair, and favourable for reaping the grain.

A circumstance occurred about the beginning of December, which excited much interest in the town of Sydney, and great commotions among the natives. Two of these people, both of them well known in the settlement (Cole-be, the friend of Bennillong, and one of the Ye-ra-ni-bes), meeting in the town, while their bosoms were yet swelling on occasion of some former difference, attacked each other. Cole-be had always been remarked for his activity ; but Ye-ra-ni-be was younger than his adversary, and was reckoned a perfect match for him. While closing on each other with their clubs, until which time Cole-be had not gained any advantage, the handle of Ye-ra-ni-be's shield drew out, and it consequently fell from his grasp : while stooping to take it up, the other struck him on the head with a club, which staggered him, and followed his blow while he was in that defenceless situation.

Cole-be knew that this would ensure him the appellation of jee-run, or coward, and that the friends of Ye-ra-ni-be would certainly take up his cause. As the consequences, therefore, might be very serious if Ye-ra-ni-be should die of the blow, he thought it prudent to abscond for a while, and Ye-ra-ni-be was taken care of by some of his white friends. This happened on the 10th, and on the 16th he died. In the interval he was constantly attended by some of his male and female associates, particularly by his two friends, Collins, and Mo-roo-bra. On one of the nights, when a most dismal song of lamentation had been sung over him, in which the women were the principal performers, his male friends, after listening for some time with great apparent attention, suddenly started up, and seizing their weapons, went off in a most savage humour, determined on revenge. Knowing pretty well where to meet with Cole-be, they beat him very severely, but would not kill him; reserving that gratification of their revenge until the fate of their companion should be decided. On the following night, they attacked a relation of Cole-be's, whom they beat about the head with such cruelty that his recovery was very doubtful. As their vengeance extends to all the family and relations of a culprit, what a misfortune it must be to be connected with a man of a choleric disposition!

Ye-ra-ni-be was buried the day after his decease by the side of the public road. He was placed by his friends upon a large piece of bark, and laid in a grave, which was formed after our manner (only not so deep); they seeming in this instance to be desirous of imitating the custom of their white friends. Bennillong assisted at the ceremony, placing the head of the corpse (by which he stuck a beautiful war-ra-taw), and covering the body with the blanket on which he died. Being supplied with some spades, the earth was thrown in by the by-standers; during which, and indeed throughout the whole of the ceremony, the women howled and cried excessively; but this was the effect of the violent gusts of passion into which the men every moment threw themselves. At this

time many spears were thrown, and some blows were inflicted with clubs; but all seemed determined on the death of Cole-be; for the man whose life he had in so cowardly a manner taken away was much beloved by his countrymen.

Cole-be, finding that he must either submit to the trial usual on such occasions, or live in the continual apprehension of being taken off by a midnight murder and a single hand, determined to come forward, and suffer the business to be decided one way or the other. Having signified his resolution, a day was appointed, and he repaired armed to the place of rendezvous. The rage and violence shewn by the friends of the deceased were indescribable; and Cole-be would certainly have expiated his offence with his life, but for the interference of several of the military. Although active, and extremely dextrous in the use of the shield, he was overpowered, and, falling beneath their spears, would certainly have been killed on the spot; but several soldiers rushed in, and prevented their putting him to death where he lay, by bearing him off to the barracks.

Bennillong was present at this meeting; but, it was supposed, without intending to take any part in it either way. The atrocity of his friend's conduct had been such, that he could not openly espouse his quarrel; perhaps he had no stomach to the fight; and certainly, if he could avoid it, he would not, by appearing against him, add to the number of his enemies. He was armed, however, and unencumbered with clothing of any kind, and remained a silent spectator of the tumultuous scene, until the moment when the soldiers rushed in to save the life of Cole-be. His conduct here became inexplicable. On a sudden, he chose to be in a rage at something or other, and threw a spear among the soldiers, which dreadfully took effect on one of them, entering at his back, and coming out at his belly close to the navel. For this he would instantly have been killed on the spot, had not the provost-marshal interfered and taken him away, boiling with

the most savage rage ; for he had received a blow on the head with the butt end of a musquet.

It became necessary to confine him during the night, as well to prevent the mischief with which he threatened the white people, as to save him from the anger of the military ; and on the following morning he quitted the town.

This man, instead of making himself useful, or shewing the least gratitude for the numberless favours that he had received, had become a most insolent and troublesome savage. As it was impossible sometimes to avoid censuring him for his conduct, he had been known to walk about armed, and heard to declare that it was for the express purpose of spearing the Governor whenever he saw him. This last outrage of his had rendered him more hateful than any of his countrymen ; and, as the natives, who had so constantly resided and received so many comforts in the settlement, were now afraid to appear in the town, believing that, like themselves, those whom he had offended would punish all for the misconduct of one, it might rather be expected that Bennillong could not be far from meeting that punishment which he certainly provoked and merited.

There were at this time in the town of Sydney three schools for the education of children ; and on the breaking-up for the Christmas holidays the Governor was gratified with the sight of 102 clean and decently-dressed children, who came with their several masters and mistresses, and paid their respects to his Excellency, who examined the progress of the elder scholars.

One moment's reflection on the vices that prevailed in the colony will be sufficient to excite a wish, that some institution could have been devised for separating the greater part of these (at present, innocent) members of the community from their vicious parents, where they could have been educated at the public expence, their propensities to evil corrected, and that turn given to their attainments which should secure them a stock of useful knowledge. An arrangement of this nature

was every day becoming more necessary; there being not less than 300 young people already in the town of Sydney, very few of whom had been born in England.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Francis sail for the Wreck—Transactions—Stock and Land in Cultivation—Irish Convicts restless Disposition—Fate of those Convicts who escaped—Bennillong and his Wife—Report respecting the Wild Cattle—Journey to the Westward—Description of a new Bird.

THE commander of the wrecked ship Sydney-Cove, having solicited the Governor to spare him the Colonial schooner for the purpose of visiting the wreck of his ship, and the six men whom he had left upon the island in charge of what had been landed; though he could very ill part with the services of the vessel, yet, in consideration of the melancholy state of the people, and the chance that there might be of saving something for the benefit of the underwriters, his Excellency consented, and she sailed the latter end of December, with Captain Hamilton, to the southward.

The weather was now becoming extremely hot; and as, at that season of the year, the heat of the sun was so intense that every substance became a combustible, and a single spark, if exposed to the air, in a moment became a flame, much evil was to be dreaded from fire. On the east side of the town of Sydney, a fire, the effect of intoxication or carelessness, broke out among the convicts' houses, when three of them were quickly destroyed; and three miles from the town another house was burnt by some runaway wretches, who, being displeased with the owner, took this diabolical method of shewing their ill-will.

The public labour of the month at Sydney comprised the covering of the new store-house; finishing the church-tower; constructing another wind-mill; completing the barracks of

the assistant-surgeons, with necessary offices; digging the foundation of a house for the master boat-builder; and taking down one of the old marine barracks, on the scite of which the Governor proposed to erect a granary.

At Parramatta and Tongabbe, the wheat was nearly all got in and secured. At the latter of these places, a capital barn had been erected for its reception, 90 feet in length, with a complete floor, on which eight or nine pairs of thrashers could be employed without inconvenience.

In order to mark the annual increase, it may be proper to insert in this place an account of the live-stock, and land in cultivation, at the close of the year 1797, belonging to government, to civil and military officers, to settlers, and others.

LIVE STOCK.

Horses,	..	26
Mares,	..	58
Bulls and Oxen,	..	132
Cows,	..	195
Hogs,	..	4247
Sheep,	..	2457
Goats, male,	..	781
Ditto, female,	..	1495

LAND IN CULTIVATION.

Acres in Wheat,	..	3361½
Acres for Maize,	..	1527
Acres in Barley,	..	26½

In addition to these, a considerable quantity of garden-ground was in potatoes, callevances, and vines.

The Irish prisoners who had arrived in the last ships from that country, had, about the beginning of the year 1798, become so turbulent and refractory, and so dissatisfied with their situation, that, without the most rigid and severe treatment, it was impossible to derive from them any labour what-

ever. In addition to their natural vicious propensities, they conceived an opinion that there was a colony of white people, which had been discovered, situated to the S. W. of Sydney, from which it was distant between three and four hundred miles; and where they were assured of finding all the comforts of life, without the necessity of labouring for them. In consequence of this extraordinary rumour, a plan had been formed, by some of these deluded people, of escaping from their then residence to this ideal one. The Governor, however, having received early information of the intentions of this party, sent a magistrate to them, desiring that he would expose the folly of their plan; but if, as was suspected, they should prove deaf to reason, and refuse to be convinced, he was to propose that any four whom they would select from their number, and whom they might think capable of travelling over steep and rocky mountains, through thick and extensive woods, and fording deep and rapid streams, should be furnished with as much provisions as each could carry; and further, for the protection of their lives during the journey, three other men, accustomed to the woods, and well acquainted with the savages of the mountains, should be ordered to attend them as far as they should find themselves able to proceed, or until a conviction of the impossibility of success in their mad attempt should induce them to return. The Governor, finding that they persisted in their intention of seeking this New World, directed a party of constables to way-lay and secure as many of them as they were able; which was effected, and sixteen were put into confinement. On speaking to them the following day, they appeared to be totally ignorant whither they were going; but, observing in them as much obstinacy as ignorance, his Excellency justly thought that he could not use an argument more likely to convince them of their misconduct, than by ordering a severe corporal punishment to be inflicted on those who appeared to be the principals in this business; and accordingly seven of them received each two hundred lashes.

Being, on further consideration of the necessity of checking this spirit of emigration, determined to convince them, by their own experience, of the danger and difficulties which attended it, the Governor caused four of the strongest and hardest among them to be chosen by themselves, and properly prepared for a journey of discovery. They were to be accompanied by three men, upon whom his Excellency could depend, and who were to lead them back, when fatigued and exhausted with their journey, over the very worst and most dangerous part of the country. This plan was no sooner settled, than it was discovered that a party of these miscreants had concerted with the four deputies to meet them at a certain place, where they were to murder the persons intended to be their guides, possess themselves of their arms and provisions, and then pursue their own route. This diabolical scheme was counteracted by the addition of four soldiers to the guides; and on the 14th they set off from Parramatta.

On the 24th the soldiers returned with three of the deputies, who, having gained the foot of the first mountains, were so completely sick of their journey, and the prospect before them, that they requested to return with the soldiers; one man only expressed a resolution to persevere, and penetrate further into the country, and was left with the guides for that purpose. The history of these people might well be supposed to end here: but their restless dispositions were not calculated to remain long in peace.

It will be seen by recurring to the month of October, that a boat had been carried off in the night by some people who were supposed to have taken her out to sea, where, from the weakness of the boat, they must have perished; but they were now, contrary to all expectation, heard of again. A settler who kept a boat gave information that she had been boarded in the night off Mullet Island by these very people; and that one of them, having against his inclination been concerned in the robbery, had left them and returned to the settlement. From this man the following particulars were ob-

tained. Having effected the capture, they proceeded to the southward, with an intention of reaching the wreck of the ship Sydney-Cove. For their guide, they had a pocket compass, of which scarcely one man of the fourteen who composed the party knew the use. In this boat they were twice thrown on shore, and at last reached an island, where, had they not fortunately found many birds and seals, they must inevitably have perished.

From the inconceivable hardships which they underwent, they would, to a man, have gladly returned, could they have hoped that their punishment would have been any thing short of death. Finding it impossible for such a number of discontented beings to continue of one mind, or be able to procure food in their miserable situation for so many, they judged it necessary, from a motive of self-preservation, that one half should deceive the other half; and while they were asleep, those who were prepared took away the boat, leaving their seven wretched and unsuspecting companions upon the desolate island, the situation of which this man could not describe so as to enable the Governor at any time to find it. Their number now being reduced to seven, and thinking themselves in danger so near the settlement, they had been lurking for some time about Broken Bay, with a view of capturing a better boat loaded with grain from the Hawkesbury; and this they effected by taking that which we have mentioned, and afterwards a small one, containing upwards of fifty bushels of wheat. After putting their prisoners into the smaller boat, they in the large one stood off to the northward; where it is was very probable they would lose their boat, she being of such a size, that if they should get on shore by any accident, they would not be able to launch her again, and must finally perish.

Here we find extreme ignorance, accompanied by great cunning, producing cruelty; for nothing less can be said of their abandoning the miserable uninformed companions of their crime. Self-preservation was their plea; but was there

not a method within their reach, which might have preserved the whole? Might they not have returned to Sydney, and thrown themselves upon that mercy which they had often exercised toward offenders. Even had no such examples, however, given them room for hope, the possession of one spark of generosity, one ray of manly feeling, would have forbid their dooming the wretched companions of their guilt to perish by the hands of savages, or by the more lingering pangs of hunger; but this is one proof among myriads, that a mind long inured to crimes hardens the heart, and renders it callous to the pleadings of humanity.

Occasional desertions of one or two people at a time had occurred from the first establishment of the colony; but the first Irish convicts that arrived from Ireland in the year 1791, went off in numerous bodies, few of whom ever returned. They too were prepossessed with a notion of the possibility of penetrating through the woods to China, and imparted the same idea to all their countrymen who came after them, engaging them in the same act of folly and madness. It was not then to be wondered at, that Wilson, who had returned from living in the woods, should, among other articles of information, mention his finding more than fifty skeletons, which the natives assured him had been white men, who had lost their way and perished. This account was corroborated by different European articles which were found, such as knives, old shoes, and other things which were known not to belong to the natives.

On the 20th the *Francis* returned with Captain Hamilton from the wreck of his ship. This gentleman stated, that of all the articles which had been taken on shore from the vessel, some spirits and a small quantity of coarse cloth had alone been saved, the remainder having been destroyed by gales of wind and bad weather. The wreck was entirely washed away. Of the six *Lascars* who had been left with the property, one had died; the other five were in health, and had lived tolerably well, killing upon a neighbouring island as

many kangaroos and birds as they could use. These poor fellows had erected a smoke-house, and had salted and smoke-dried as much meat as would serve them during the ensuing winter.

Notwithstanding the severe trial which Cole-be had been put to for the death of Ye-ra-ni-be, the friends of that young man had not thought it sufficient to atone for his loss. One of them, Mo-roo-bra, in company with other natives, meeting the culprit, made an attack upon him, with a determination to put an end to the business and his life together. Cole-be, after receiving several blows on the head, was supposed to have been dispatched; but Mo-roo-bra, seeing him revive and attempting to rise, returned to finish his savage business, which so exasperated another native, that in a rage he threw a spear with all his force at Mo-roo-bra, which entered his right side, just over the hip-bone, and went inclining downwards quite through the body, penetrating the bladder in its passage. Of this wound he died in about an hour. On the same evening this generous fellow was attacked by the friends of the deceased in the usual way; and, as might be expected, defended himself with great gallantry, but received two wounds.

Toward the latter end of the month an Irish convict, who had been some time missing, was brought in. He had wandered about for several days in search of a road to China, or the colony where no labour was required; but his strength failing with his provisions, he grew faint, as well as faint-hearted; and, despairing of meeting with any relief, he had just sense sufficient to reverse the written instructions which had been calculated solely to carry him out, directing him to keep the sun on a particular part of his body, varying according to the time of the day. By this means he reached nearly to the head of George's River, where, to his great joy, he was met by a settler, who, after detaining him at his house till his exhausted strength was recovered, accompanied him to Sydney. On being questioned how he found his way back,

he said, "that a paper compass which had been given him was of no use at all at all; he therefore kept his face toward the place where the sun came from; but if the Lord had not been on his side, he should have been lost; for he had been two whole days without any food, except a little flour and water."

On the first of February the *Francis* was again dispatched to the wreck of the *Sydney Cove*.

When Bennillong accompanied Governor Phillip to England in the year 1792, he left a young wife to deplore his absence. The manners of savages, in this instance, were found somewhat to resemble those of civilized life. The lady surrendered to the importunities of a youthful lover; and of him she became so enamoured, that neither the entreaties, the menaces, nor the presents of her husband at his return, could induce her to leave him. From that time she was considered by every one, Bennillong excepted, as the wife of Ca-ru-ey. He finding himself neglected by other females whose smiles he courted (after the fashion of his country indeed), sometimes sought to balance the mortification by the forced embraces of his wife; but, her screams generally bringing her lover to her assistance, he was not often successful. In one of these attempts he came off with a severe wound in the head, the lady and her lover laughing very heartily at the rage which it occasioned.

The Governor having been informed, by some natives who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Cow-pasture plains, that several of the wild cattle had been killed, and imagining this mischief to have been done by some of the Irish convicts (who were nearly as wild as the cattle), a party of the military, with Hinchlag, a man well acquainted with that part of the country, was sent out, having orders to surprise, and if possible to secure them. After being absent some days, they returned, and reported, that, having searched the country round, no traces were to be seen of the cattle in any of the places where they had been accustomed to range, nor did they meet with any white people; but the natives persisted in asserting their

having seen white men in that quarter, and added that some of the calves had been run down by them. This was not impossible, and the idea was somewhat strengthened, by their finding several short spears pointed with the leg bone of the kangaroo, which were supposed to be designed for stabbing the calves when caught. Although it was the opinion of these people, that the cattle had quitted the part of the country in which they had been so long known to graze, there was yet much reason to believe that this was not the case; for on visiting them before, they were not always found in the same spot.

On the 9th of February, the three persons who had been sent out with the Irishmen, that were so desirous of discovering a country where they might live more at their ease, returned, so much exhausted with the fatigue, that they had with the utmost difficulty made their way back. By their account, they had travelled in a direction S. W. three-fourths W. about 140 miles from Parramatta; a greater distance than any European had ever before been. They brought with them a bird (many of which they had met with), and which on examination appeared to be a variety of the bird of Paradise. The size of this curious and handsome bird was that of a common hen; the colour a reddish black, the bill long, the legs black and very strong: the tail, about two feet in length, was formed of several feathers, two of which were the principal, having the interior sides scalloped alternately of a deeper or lighter reddish brown inclining to orange, shading gently into a white or silver colour next the stem, crossing each other, and at the very extremity terminating in a broad black round finishing. The difference of colour in the scallops did not proceed from any precise change in the colour itself, but from the texture of the feather, which was alternately thicker and thinner. The fibres of the outer side of the stem were narrow and of a lead colour. Two other feathers of equal length, and of a blueish or lead colour, lay within those, very narrow, and having fibres only on one side of the

stem. Many other feathers of the same length lay within those again, which were of a pale greyish colour, and of the most delicate texture, resembling more the skeleton of a feather than a perfect one.

CHAP. XXVII.

Mr. Bass returns from an Excursion—Particulars—A Salt Hill discovered—Some Irish Runaways surrender—Executions—An Old Woman accused of dreaming—Missionaries arrive from Otaheite—The Lady Shore Transport delivered up by the Spaniards—Missionaries settled—The Hunter arrives from Bengal—Several arrivals—Contests respecting the Female Convicts.

WITH the ripening of the maize fields, the depredations of the natives returned. On the 19th of Feb. the Governor received a dispatch from Parramatta, containing an account, that a man had been murdered by them near Toongabbe, and three others severely wounded: a few days after, two others were killed in the same manner. These circumstances rendered it absolutely necessary to send out numerous well-armed parties, and attack them wherever they should be met with; for lenity or forbearance had only been followed by repeated acts of cruelty.

Toward the latter end of the month, Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the *Reliance*, returned from an excursion in an open boat to the southward, after an absence of twelve weeks. This gentleman requested the Governor to allow him a boat, and permission to man her with volunteers from the King's ships; proposing to go along the coast, and make such observations as might be in his power. The Governor readily consenting, he set out, as well provided as the size of his boat would allow; and in her proceeded as far to the southward as the latitude 40 deg. 00 min. visiting every opening in the coast; but only in one place to the southward and westward of Point Hicks,

finding a harbour capable of admitting ships. There was every appearance of an extensive strait, or rather an open sea, between the latitudes of 39 deg. and 40 deg. south; and that Van Dieman's land consisted (as had been conjectured) of a group of islands lying off the southern coast of the country.

It appeared from Mr. Bass's account, that there was but very little good ground to the southward. His occasional excursions into the interior, situated as he found himself with an open boat, in which he could carry but a small stock of provisions, could not be very extensive; he, however, went far enough to discover that there was but little good land near the sea; but, had it even been superior to those parts which were known, the want of harbours, even for small vessels, would lessen its value much. He regretted that he had not been possessed of a better vessel, which would have enabled him to circumnavigate Van Diemen's land. On his return, he picked up, on an island near the coast, the seven men who, it may be remembered, were a part of those that had carried off a settler's boat, and had been left by their companions. Being utterly incapable of taking them into his boat, he put them upon the main land, after furnishing them with what was necessary for their support. Two, who were ill, he took into his boat, and left the other five to begin their march of four hundred miles to Port Jackson. They were nearly naked, and almost starved, and must have inevitably perished had not Mr. Bass discovered them.

Wishing to obtain further information respecting a salt-hill, seen by the guides in their late excursion with the Irish convicts, the Governor had sent a trusty person thither. At his return he produced some specimens of various veins of salt which he fell in with in different places, of ten and twelve feet in depth. He reported that he found the country every where intersected with narrow, but deep and rapid branches of fresh water rivers, over some of which he was obliged to swim; others he was able to ford.

Having been directed to seek for the wild cattle, he found them about six miles from the place where they had usually been found; the herd was much more numerous than any that had hitherto been seen, amounting to at least 170, besides several stragglers. It was a satisfaction to know that they were perfectly safe.

The men who, in the beginning of January, had boarded and carried off a boat, were heard of in the latter end of March, when a report was spread that a piratical boat was infesting the harbour of Broken Bay, and the Hawkesbury; and the following day a letter, signed by these men, was received by the Governor, in which they professed to repent of their former conduct, and implored forgiveness. They said that they had been wrecked, and with difficulty got on shore, saving as much of the remains of their boat as enabled them to build a smaller one, in which they had returned, to surrender themselves to justice; pretending to have had their eyes opened to the danger with which attempts at desertion from the colony must ever be attended, and promising to convince the minds of their ignorant countrymen that every such attempt must be followed by inevitable ruin. The language of this letter was far above the capacity of any of the party; the truth was, they had proposed to live by piracy; but after the loss of their boat, being no longer able to procure provisions, and in danger of being taken, they determined on giving themselves up as the safest course they had left.

They were armed with five musquets; and certainly had the will, as well as the ability, to do a great deal of mischief. They were placed in confinement, and charges preferred against them for piracy, which was absolutely necessary; as the sufferings of such offences to pass with impunity would have been productive of the greatest evil.

Sixteen months having elapsed since either provisions or stores had been received, arrivals from England began to be rather anxiously expected. Public works went on slowly; the servants of Government being but few in proportion to the

labour to be performed by them, and all kinds of implements bad in quality, and scarce.

There had been very little intermission of rain, thunder, and lightning, during the whole of this month.

April opened with a necessary act of justice. Five men were capitally convicted, before the court of criminal judicature, of seizing boats with an intent to escape from the colony. One man was capitally convicted of a robbery; three were transported to Norfolk Island, and one was adjudged to corporal punishment.

Two of the five condemned for seizing the boats suffered death at Sydney, after a week's preparation for that awful moment. Their companions were respited at the place of execution. These unfortunate people were both extremely penitent, confessed the justice of their sentence, and acknowledged how much mischief they had done, and how much more they meditated, had they not been overtaken by justice.

The settlers, although certainly undeserving of the attention which they met with from the Governor, were constantly laying their complaints before him; many of these either did not exist at all, or were of a most trivial nature: one of the number, however, called for his serious attention. It originated in the unbounded rage for traffic that pervaded nearly the whole settlement. The delivery of grain into the public storehouses, when open for that purpose, was so completely monopolized, that the settlers had but few opportunities of getting the full value for their crops. A few words will place this iniquitous combination in its proper light. The settler found himself thrust out from the granary, by a man whose greater opulence created greater influence. He was then driven by his necessities to dispose of his grain for less than half its value. To whom did he dispose of it? to the very man whose greater opulence enabled him to purchase it, and whose greater influence could get it received into the public store! Order after order had been issued on this very subject, the storekeepers being most pointedly directed to give

the preference to the man whose grain was the produce of his own labour ; and if any favour were shewn, to let it be to the poor but industrious settler. But these necessary and humane directions had been too often frustrated by circumstances which were carefully kept from the knowledge of the Governor ; it was, however, proved to him, that on occasion of the store at the Hawkesbury being opened for the reception of 1500 bushels of wheat, the whole was engrossed by two or three of these opulent traders, to the exclusion and injury of others, and of the petty farmers in general. The store-keeper was not dismissed, because a better might not have been found ; but the Governor directed, that half the quantity of wheat thus partially and improperly put in should be taken away, and room made for the accommodation of the settlers.

A report prevailed among the labouring people, particularly the Irish, who were always foremost in every mischief and discontent, that an old woman had prophesied the arrival of several French frigates, or larger ships of war, who were, after destroying the settlement, to liberate and take off the whole of the convicts. The rapidity with which this ridiculous tale was circulated is incredible ; and the effect such as might be expected. One refractory fellow, while working in a numerous gang at Toongabbe, threw down his hoe, advanced before the rest, and gave three cheers for liberty. This for a while seemed well received ; but the business was rather unpleasantly interrupted, by the advocate for liberty being seized by order of a magistrate, tied up, and treated with a severe flogging. The prophetess, a poor old Scotch woman, took an early opportunity of exculpating herself to the Governor, whom she assured of her innocence ; protesting that all the foundation for the accusation against her was, her having related a dream that she had had, of ships having arrived.

On the 14th, a small brig, the *Nautilus*, arrived from Otaheite in very great distress, being leaky and worn out. In her came several of the Missionaries who had been sent thither from England for the purpose of propagating the Christian

religion ; but who, not feeling themselves on a comfortable footing with the natives of that island, had eagerly embraced the opportunity of quitting it with their families, to the number of nineteen, who embarked in this little vessel. Her size not admitting of her receiving any more, six or seven were of necessity left behind, whose fate was certainly very precarious. Those who had arrived were treated by the colonists with every attention, and every possible relief administered to their distresses.

The expected signal for a vessel was at length made, and on the 18th the ship *Barwell* arrived from England, with male convicts, and some stores and provisions. Having touched at the Cape of Good Hope, she there heard the loss of the *Lady Shore* transport in her passage to Port Jackson, having on board about 60 convicts, three only of whom were males, and a large assortment of all kind of stores, which had been so long and so greatly wanted. There was also a complete company of recruits for the New South Wales corps on board, to whom was owing the loss of the ship ; for, after murdering the commander, and his first mate, they took possession of the ship, and carried her into Rio de la Plata, where she was delivered up to the Spaniards. This ship, besides the public stores, had a great deal of private property on board, and was a serious loss to the colony.

In the *Barwell* arrived a judge-advocate, in the room of Captain Collins, who had resigned that situation.

Toward the latter end of the month, the settlers at the northern farms were much annoyed by the natives, who came down in a body, and burnt several houses. This was not the only misfortune that attended the farmers at this time, as much mischief occurred from a violent squall of wind, attended with a shower of hail-stones, many of which measured six inches in circumference, and appeared to be an accumulation of smaller hail-stones, which had adhered together, by the intensity of the cold in the higher region of the

air, until they became of the above size. Much rain fell during the month.

The 4th of June was, as usual, observed with all the respect and attention so peculiarly its due; and on the 6th the Governor went up to Parramatta, in order to travel into the northern district in search of a proper place for settling, as farmers, such of the missionaries lately arrived from Otaheite, as were disposed to continue in the settlement. He also proposed to fix there some free settlers who had been sent out by Government, if he should find a sufficiency of good ground. On a minute examination of the country, he had every reason to pronounce it superior to any that had yet been seen, and in quantity equal to the establishment of several families. The land was not only good and well-watered, but every where easily cleared, and at the convenient distance of five or six miles from Parramatta. Being satisfied with the situation, he recommended it to the missionaries; but the most of them declined it. To the few who consented, a proportion of tools, grain, and such assistance as could be spared, was given.

The house of Campbell and Clarke, at Calcutta, not discouraged by the fate of their unfortunate ship, the Sydney-Cove (of which they were the proprietors), fitted out another, a snow, which, in compliment to the Governor, they named the Hunter, and sent her down with an assortment of India goods, and a few cows and horses. She arrived on the 10th of the month; when the Governor, to crush as much as possible the spirit of monopoly which had so long subsisted, gave public notice, that no part of the cargo should be disposed of until the settlers in the different districts had stated to him what sums of money they could severally raise; which, it was to be understood, must be in government notes then in their possession, and not those which they might purchase upon the strength of their crops.

It was also ordered, that no boat or person (except the pilot-boat, or such other as might be sent with an officer to bring on shore the public dispatches) should attempt to board

any ship arriving in the harbour, until she should be properly secured in the Cove, and the master had been with the Governor and received the port-orders.

Captain Hamilton, the commander of the Sydney-Cove, survived the arrival of the Hunter but a few days. He never recovered from the distresses and hardships which he suffered on the loss of his ship, and died exceedingly regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The month of July opened with the arrival of the Cornwall, southern whaler, the master of which informed the Governor, that some Spanish cruisers having appeared off Cape Horn, the whalers of the southern fishery were directed to pass into these seas during the war. The Cornwall was followed by two others, the Eliza from the Cape of Good Hope, and the Sally.

This circumstance was likely to be attended with some advantages to the settlement. The whale-fishing on the coast would be effectually tried, and the position of shoals, or the existence of harbours or rivers, ascertained.

Having in a few days refitted their ships, the three whalers sailed upon their fishing voyages.

Previous to their departure, the Argo, a small American schooner, arrived, last from the Isle of France, having on board a cargo of salt provisions, some French brandy, and other articles, upon speculation; and on the 18th arrived the Britannia whaler from England, with 94 female convicts. The cattle that came in the Hunter, and which were sold by auction about the same time, were not greater objects of contest than were these ladies, the number of women in the settlements bearing no proportion to the men.

The weather during July was much colder than common at that season; and in the interior part of the country there was a sharp frost every night.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Norfolk prepares to sail on a voyage of discovery—Unnatural custom among the Natives—The Church at Sydney burned—Regulations—Bennillong—The Francis returns from Norfolk Island—A Battery completed—Unruly behaviour of the Irish.

THE Governor wishing to have that part of the coast examined in which a strait was supposed to exist (between the latitude of 39 deg. S. and the land hitherto deemed the southern promontory of New Holland, and called Van Dieman's land), resolved on sending Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, of the *Reliance*, on that service, in the *Norfolk* (a small decked boat which had lately been sent from Norfolk Island); and gave orders for her being properly fitted for the voyage.

Early in August a battle took place among the natives, in which Bennillong was very dangerously wounded.

From the knowledge that was daily gained of the inhuman habits and customs of these people, their being so thinly scattered through the country ceased to be matter of surprise. It was constantly seen, that from some trifling cause or other they were continually living in a state of warfare; to this must be added their brutal treatment of their women, who are themselves equally destructive to the measure of population, by the horrid and cruel custom of endeavouring to cause miscarriage; this their female acquaintance effect by pressing the body in such a way, as to destroy the infant in the womb; which violence not unfrequently occasions the death of the unnatural mother also. To this they have recourse, to avoid the trouble of carrying the infant when born, which, when it is very young, or at the breast, is the duty of the woman. The operation for this destructive purpose is termed mee-bra. The burying an infant (when at the breast) with the mother, if she should die, is another shocking cause of the thinness of population among them.

A second battle among the natives was fought during the month, in which three were killed, and several wounded; among the latter was Bennillong, who had but just recovered from his former wound.

The weather in July had been remarkably cold: In August it was as remarkably sultry, and the wind high, which set many parts of the country on fire, and destroyed some property. The surveyor-general's house, with every article in it, was consumed.

On the 17th the Barwell sailed for China. By her the Governor addressed a letter to the Governor-General of India; informing his lordship, that having transmitted to the Secretary of State copies of the letters upon the subject of raising recruits in Port Jackson for the army in India, which had been received in the year 1796, by the officers who were sent from Calcutta; it was the opinion of his Majesty's ministers, that the inconveniencies attending such a measure would more than counter-balance the advantages of it, and that permission for that purpose could not therefore be granted.

Another adventurer entered the port on the 1st of October, viz. the Semiramis, from Rhode Island, bound to China. She made her passage in three months and nine days.

On the evening of the same day the church on the east side of the Cove was discovered to be on fire, and every effort to save it proved ineffectual; for the building being covered with thatch, which was at the time exceedingly dry and combustible, it was completely consumed in one hour. This was a great loss; for during the working days of the week the building was used as a school, in which from a 150 to 200 children were educated, under the immediate inspection of Mr. Johnson, the clergyman. As this building stood alone, and no person was suffered to remain in it after the school hours, there was not a doubt but the atrocious act was the effect of design, and had been perpetrated in consequence of an order enforcing attendance on divine service, and with a view of rendering the sabbath a day of as little decency and

sobriety as any other in the week. The workers of the mischief were, however, disappointed; for the Governor, highly irritated at such a shameful act, suffered not a single Sunday to be lost, having ordered a new store-house, which was just finished, to be fitted up as a church.

On the 7th the two Americans sailed for China; and at the same time the Nautilus brig and Norfolk long-boat sailed for Van Diemen's land. The Nautilus was to try, during that season, what the seal-fishing among the islands to the southward might produce. In the Norfolk were Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, who were instructed to examine the existence of the strait supposed to divide Van Dieman's land from the continent.

The rage for trade occasioned such a continued scene of contention and litigation among the people, that much inconvenience was experienced, in the liberties which were taken of imprisoning the public servants of the crown for debts contracted with many of the petty dealers; notwithstanding an order which had been given out in the year 1788, by the late Governor Phillip, in which the colony was informed, that the convicts had no property of their own, their clothing, their time, and their labour, being the property of Government, and not at their own disposal. This order having worn out of their recollection, it became necessary to renew it. Notice was therefore given, that the public servants of the crown were not to be detained from their duty by imprisonment for debt; and if any person should be desirous of accommodating them with credit, it must be wholly and absolutely upon the strength of their own good faith in the integrity of such people, and not under the idea that they could arrest and imprison them according to the forms of law; and it was to be generally understood, that Government would by no means dispense with the labour of its servants for the accommodation of any private dealings whatever.

On the evening of the 11th, another fire happened in Sydney. A row of buildings, which had been erected for the

nurses, and other persons employed about the hospital, was set on fire and totally consumed.

Toward the latter end of the month the Governor visited the settlers at the Hawkesbury, and made some useful regulations in the prices of labour. He found the farms promising plenty.

On the 27th the Marquis Cornwallis arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, with a cargo of cattle on Government's account, consisting of 158 cows and 20 bulls.

Instead of living peaceably and pleasantly at the Governor's house, as he certainly always might have done. Bennilling preferred the rude and dangerous society of his own countrymen; visiting the settlement only when induced by the recollection of the comforts which he could no where else obtain. Intelligence now reached the town that he was again dangerously wounded. This man had lately received and recovered of several wounds, any of which would have been sufficient to have destroyed a European. But these people, in general, owed their existence more to their good habit of body (living free from the use of spirituous liquors and the luxuries of the table) than to any other cause. Unless this be admitted, it will be difficult to account for their surviving the desperate wounds which they had been often known to receive.

An instance of the fatal effects of misguided conduct, and a too late sense of criminality, occurred about this time in the tragical end of Nathaniel Franklyn, the Governor's steward. This man, whom he had brought from England, had the whole care and management of his Excellency's domestic concerns intrusted to him. He had been repeatedly cautioned by his master against the many artful and designing acquaintances which he had formed in the town; it was proved, however, that he had not possessed fortitude enough to withstand their solicitations, but had consented to rob the Governor to a very considerable amount, abusing the unlimited confidence which had been placed in him, and making use of his name in a most iniquitous manner. Of the infamy of his

conduct he was at last fatally sensible; and, retiring into a shrubbery in the garden of his injured master's house, shot himself through the head.

The harvest, which was begun in November, was completed early in December; but, owing to a most tedious and unfortunate drought of ten months, the wheat did not turn out more than one-third of what had been expected.

On the 19th the Francis schooner arrived from Norfolk Island, where all were in good health. Lieutenant Shortland, who had received directions to search for Sir Charles Middleton island and shoal, on his return produced his journal and a chart of the various traverses which he had made in quest of the island; and compared them with those made formerly by Lieutenant (now Captain) Ball in his Majesty's armed brig Supply, who had been sent by Governor Phillip expressly on the same pursuit. The extensive range taken by those two officers in the search, and their not having met with even any indications of land near that situation, left little reason to believe in the existence of the island. That of the shoal was not so doubtful, there being much reason to believe that a dangerous bank or shoal did somewhere thereabouts exist.

The Indispensable and Britannia whalers, which had been fishing on the coast, returned on the 29th, for the repairing of some defects and to refresh their crews. They had not been more than 30 leagues from the coast, and thought themselves rather successful for the time (only two months); the one having got 54, and the other 60 tons of spermaceti oil.

In the early part of the month Fahrenheit's thermometer at the Hawkesbury stood at 107 in the shade. Many people were at this time much afflicted with inflammations of the eyes, attended with extreme pain; dysenteric complaints were also very common.

The seamen belonging to the Supply having completed their half-moon battery, part of that ship's guns were mounted on it; and, in addition to other public works, some people had

been employed in white-washing the houses in the town of Sydney, and repairing such of the buildings as required it.

The new year (1799) commenced with granting certificates to such convicts as had completed their several terms of transportation. Many of these, having been sent out, who had not more than two years to serve after their arrival, proved, by claiming their discharge, a considerable drawback on field labour, as well in Norfolk Island as in New South Wales. But this was not the only evil. In this way there were let loose upon the public a number of worthless characters, who, not having any means of getting out of the country, became a troublesome and dangerous pest, living by mischief and robbery. They also consumed a vast proportion of the provision which was raised in the colony. Still, as the law had spent its force against them, there was no denying them the restoration of their rights as free people. The convicts had suffered much through want of clothing and bedding. Indeed, during the late harvest, several gangs were seen labouring in the fields, as free of clothing of any kind as the savages of the country. This had made them insolent and discontented; and anonymous letters were dropped, threatening what they would do in the proper season. Some of the Irish had likewise taken up the idea that Ireland had shaken off its connection with England, and that they were no longer to be considered as convicts under the British government. This was a most pernicious idea to be entertained by such a lawless set of people, and required the strong arm of government to eradicate it.

Agricultural concerns at this time wore a most unpromising appearance. The wheat proved little better than chaff, and the maize was burnt up in the ground for want of rain. From the establishment of the settlement, so much continued drought and suffocating heat had not been experienced; the country was in flames, the wind northerly and parching; and some showers of rain which fell on the 7th were of no ad-

vantage, being immediately taken up again by the excessive heat of the sun.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Norfolk sloop returns from Van Diemen's Land—Particulars—Curious Petrifications—The Wom-Bat described—The Norfolk proceeds on her Voyage—Discovers Port Dalrymple—Account of the Country—Natural Productions—Animals—Black Swans—Inhabitants—Observations—The Norfolk passes the Strait—Further Proceedings—Arrives at Port Jackson—Advantages of Bass Strait.

ON the 12th of January, Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass returned from the examination of Van Dieman's Land. As the result of this little voyage was the ascertaining of the existence of a strait separating Van Dieman's Land from the continent of New Holland, it may not be improper to enter with some degree of minuteness into the particulars of it; and the writer of these pages feels much gratification in being enabled to do this, from the accurate and pleasing journal of Mr. Bass, with the perusal and use of which he was favoured.

The Norfolk, as has been already stated, sailed upon this voyage of discovery about the 7th of October, 1798, with Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, and on the 11th anchored in Twofold Bay. Mr. Bass, on examination, found Twofold Bay situated at the southern end of a short chain of hummocky hills, one part of which is much more conspicuous than the rest, and lies immediately behind the bay. The land on the west side, being a part of this chain of hills, is high and rocky. The shore is divided into steep cliff heads, with small intermediate beaches; the one formed by the most prominent of the ridges, the other by the sand thrown up at the foot of their vallies. Behind the beaches are ponds of brackish water.

The abruptness and sudden rise of the hills, for the most part, permit the vegetable earth to be washed down into the

vallies, as fast as it is formed. Some of the more gradual slopes retain a sufficiency of it to produce a thick coat of tolerably succulent grass, but the soil partakes too much of the stoney quality of the higher parts to be capable of cultivation. The dark luxuriant foliage of the vallies points out the advantages which they had received from the impoverished hills. There soil is rich and deep, but their extent is narrow and limited. Both hill and valley produce large timber, and brush-wood of various heights.

In the S. W. corner of the bay, is a lagoon, or small inlet, that communicates with the sea, through the beach, at the back of which it lies. The chain of hills here runs back to some little distance from the water, and leaves a few square miles of rather good ground, through which the inlet was found to take its course in a winding direction to the S. W. for six or eight miles, where it ends in small swamps and marshes. Large boats might enter this place at a third flood, and proceed to the further part of it. From five to seven hundred acres of a light sandy soil might be picked out in patches of from fifty to a hundred acres each; but on the side next the mountain it soon became stoney, and on that next the lagoon it was wet and salt.

The country along the back of the bay lies in rounded stoney hills scarcely fit for pasturage, but covered with timber, and patches of short brush.

On the south side was another shallow inlet, larger than that on the S. W.; but the returning tide did not allow time to proceed to the head of it.

Speaking generally of the land round the bay, it might be said to be much more barren than productive.

The most common timber is a sort of gum-tree, the bark of which, along the trunk, is that of the iron bark of Port Jackson; and its leaf, that of the blue gum-tree; but its branches toward the head are of a yellow colour, and smooth. The wood is longer grained, and more tough, splitting easier and more true, than any other species of the gum-tree.

The natives are, in person, similar to those living about Port Jackson ; but their language was perfectly unintelligible. They used canoes, of which they seemed very careful ; for on the boat approaching a party of them, they hastily paddled on shore, and, taking their canoes upon their heads, ran off into the woods. This was on Mr. Bass's first visit. They, however, appeared less shy of their visitors on his second ; and there was reason to believe that a friendly intercourse might have been easily established with them.

But very few marks of the kangaroo were seen. Both quadrupeds and birds appeared to be less numerous here than in other places. A few ducks, teal, herons, cranes, and a bird named from its bill the red-bill, were found, with some small flights of curlew and plover of a beautiful feather, upon the lagoons.

The rocks consist of hardened clay, in which are mixed great numbers of small stones, variously tinged, some with red, others with yellow. Small portions of calcareous spar lie scattered about upon the surface of the rocky ground ; strata of which are deposited irregularly in fissures formed in the body of the rocks themselves.

Leaving Twofold Bay, the sloop proceeded to the southward ; and on the 17th she made a small cluster of islands, in latitude 38 deg. 16 min. which now bears the name of Kent's Islands. These are six or seven in number, and of various sizes. Their height is very considerable ; and they are as irregular in figure as can well be imagined in land whose hummocks are no one of them more lofty than another. This small group appears to be formed of granite, which is imperfectly concealed by long straggling dwarfish brush, and some few still more diminutive trees ; and is cursed with a sterility that might safely bid defiance to Chinese industry itself. Nature is either working very slowly with those islands, or has altogether ceased to work upon them ; for a more wild deserted place is not easily to be met with. Even the birds seemed not to frequent them in their usual numbers,

Having passed Kent's group, standing to the southward, the next morning Furneaux's Islands were in sight, and on the following day they anchored at Preservation Island, which is one of them. These islands appear to consist of two kinds, perfectly dissimilar in figure, and, most probably, of very unequal ages, but alike in the materials of which they are formed. Both kinds are of granite; but the one is low and rather level, with a sand covered with low brush and tufted grass: the other is remarkably high, bold, and rocky, and cut into a variety of singular peaks and knobs: some little vegetable soil lies upon these.

Preservation Island is of a very moderate height. A surface of sand, varying in depth, and mixed in different scanty proportions with vegetable soil, scarcely hides from view the base, which is of granite. In several places, vast blocks of this stone lie scattered about; as free from vegetation and the injuries of the weather as if they had fallen but yesterday: and, what is remarkable, most of them, probably all, are evidently detached from the stone upon which they rest, so entirely that they might be dragged from the places where they lie, if it were thought worth while to apply a power sufficient to produce so useful an effect. It would seem, then, that these loose blocks have fallen from some place higher than that upon which they were found; but that is impossible, for they are higher than any part of the island. And the supposition that the injuries of the air and the rain caused the removal of that part of the granite which might originally have been of a corresponding height with these remaining blocks, seems hardly admissible in the present instance. Perhaps subterraneous or volcanic fire may have caused this curious appearance.

The vast bulk of these blocks renders them so conspicuous, that the attention is first struck with them upon approaching the island. There is on the north side, where the island is particularly low and narrow, a slip of calcareous earth, which discovers itself near the surface of the water. It is not, for

the most part, pure; for broken pieces of the granite are mixed with it in various proportions. Some parts are a mere mass of these broken pieces cemented together by the calcareous matter; whilst others are an almost perfect chalk, and are capable of being burnt into excellent lime. Broken sea-shells and other exuviae of marine animals, are apparent throughout the whole mass.

Upon the beach, at the foot of this chalky rock, was found a very considerable quantity of the black metallic particles which appear in granite as black shining specks, and are, in all probability, grains of tin.

To find this small bed of the remains of shell animals, of which chalk is formed wherever found, in such an unexpected situation, excited some surprise; and Mr. Bass endeavoured to investigate the cause of this deposit, by examining the form of the neighbouring parts of the island. The result of his inquiries and conjectures amounted to this: that as traces of the sea, and of the effects of running waters, were plainly discernible in many parts of the island, and more particularly in the vicinity of this deposit of chalk and granite, it seemed highly probable, that it had been formed by two streams of the tide; which, when the island was yet beneath the surface of the sea, having swept round a large lump of rocks, then met and formed an eddy, where every substance would fall to the bottom. The lump of rocks is now a rocky knoll, which runs tapering from the opposite side of the island towards the chalk. On each side of it is a gap, through which the two streams appeared to have passed.

The vegetation on the island seems brown and starved. It consists of a few stunted trees, with several patches of brush, close set and almost impenetrable.

A small spot upon the east end of the island presented a phenomenon which seemed not easily explicable by any known laws of that class of natural history to which it alone was referable.

Amidst a patch of naked sand, upon one of the highest parts of the island, at not less than 100 feet above the level of the sea, within the limits of a few hundred yards square, were lying scattered about a number of short broken branches of old dead trees, of from one to three inches in diameter, and seemingly of a kind similar to the large brushwood. Amid these broken branches were seen sticking up several white stoney stumps, of sizes ranging between the above diameter, and in height from a foot to a foot and a half. Their peculiar form, together with a number of prongs of their own quality, projecting in different directions from around their base, and entering the ground in the manner of roots, presented themselves to the mind of an observer with a striking resemblance to the stumps and roots of small trees. These were extremely brittle, many of them, when taken into the hand, breaking with their own weight.

On being broken transversely, it was immediately seen that the internal part was divided into interior or central, exterior or cortical. The exterior part, which in different specimens occupied various proportions of the whole, resembling a fine white and soft grit-stone; but acids, being applied, shewed it to be combined with a considerable portion of calcareous matter. The interior or central part was always circular; but was seldom found of the same diameter, or of the same composition, on any two stumps. In some, the calcareous and sandy matter had taken such entire possession, that every fragment of the wood was completely obliterated; but yet a faint central ring remained. In others, was a centre of chalk, beautifully white, that crumbled between the fingers to the finest powder; some consisted of chalk and brown earth, in various quantities, and some others had detained a few frail portions of their woody fibres, the spaces between which were filled up with chalky earth.

It appeared, that when the people of the Sydney-Cove first landed on the island, the pieces of dead branches that at the time were lying round the stumps, then formed, with them,

the stems and branches of dead trees complete. But by the time Mr. Bass visited the place, the hands of curiosity, and the frolics of an unruly horse that was saved from the wreck, had reduced them to the state already described.

Mr. Bass had learned, from authority on which he could rely, that when the trees were in a complete state, the diameter of the dead wood of the stem that rose immediately from the stoney part, was equal to the diameter of that part; and also that a living leaf was seen upon the uppermost branches of one of them. But he could not ascertain whether the stoney part of the stem was of an equal height in all the trees.

To discover to what depth the petrification had extended, Mr. Bass scratched away the sand from the feet of many of the stumps, and in no instance found it to have proceeded more than three or four inches beneath the surface of the sand, as it then lay; for at that depth, the brown and crumbling remains of the root came into view. There were, indeed, parts of the roots which had undergone an alteration similar to that which had taken place in the stems: but these tended to establish the limits of the petrifying power; for they had felt it only either at their first outset from the bottom of the stems, or when, being obstructed in their progress, they had of necessity arched upwards toward the surface.

In attempting to account for the cause that had operated to produce this change in the structure of the lower parts of the stems of these trees, Mr. Bass felt the utmost diffidence. He found that all his conjectures, which were best supported by existing facts, led him to place them among petrifications; although no strict analogy could be seen between them and the subjects usually met with of this kind. Admitting them, however, as petrifications, it is certain that there must once have existed a pond in which the petrifying water was contained; but the ground in their neighbourhood retained no positive traces of any such receptacle. There were, indeed, near them, some few lumps or banks consisting of sand, and a little vegetable earth which was held together by dead roots

of small trees, and elevated above the rest of the ground, to the height of five, six, or eight feet ; but the relative position of these with each other was so confused and irregular, that nothing but the necessity of a once existing reservoir could ever lead any one to conjecture that these might have been parts of its bank. Mr. Bass, however, rather concluded that this must have been the case, and that the remainder of the bank had been torn away, and the pond itself annihilated by some violent effort of an unknown power.

Notwithstanding the narrow limits of the island, abundance of small kangaroos were found to inhabit its bushy parts. There were sooty petrels, likewise, in great abundance. The water of this island was thought to have been injurious to the health of the people of the Sydney-Cove. It was supposed to contain arsenic, which was highly probable, from an experiment that was made with the metallic particles that were taken to be tin : a large fume of what bore marks of arsenic arose from the crucible during the time of smelting it. Water was at first very scarce ; but, owing to some unusual falls of rain, several little runs and swamps were found ; and a low piece of ground, where the inhabitants had deposited their dead, was now a pond of an excellent quality.

Although he had seen but few of the low islands of Furneaux, yet Mr. Bass had not any doubt but that this account of Preservation Island would in general answer for the description of any of them.

Mr. Bass's next landing was on the southern end of Cape Barren Island ; which was indeed barren ; but it was, he remarks, very singular, that a place wherein food seemed to be so scarce, should yet be so thickly inhabited by the small brush kangaroo, and a new quadruped which was also a grass-eater.

This animal, being a stranger, appears to merit a particular description. The WOM-BAT (or, as it is called by the natives of Port Jackson, the *Womback*) is a squat, thick, short-legged, and rather inactive quadruped, with great ap-

pearance of stumpy strength, and somewhat bigger than a large turn-spit dog. Its figure and movements, if they do not exactly resemble those of the bear, at least strongly remind one of that animal. Its length, from the tip of the tail to the tip of the nose, is thirty-one inches, of which its body takes up twenty-three and five-tenths. The head is seven inches and the tail five-tenths. Its circumference behind the fore-legs twenty-seven inches; across the thickest part of the belly thirty-one inches. Its weight, by hand, is somewhat between twenty-five and thirty pounds. The hair is coarse, and about one inch, or an inch and five-tenths, in length; thinly set upon the belly, thicker on the back and head, and thickest upon the loins and rump. The colour of it a light sandy brown, of varying shades, but darkest along the back.

The head is large and flattish, and, when we are looking the animal full in the face, seems, excluding the ears, to form nearly an equilateral triangle, any side of which is about seven inches and five-tenths in length; but the upper side, or that which constitutes the breadth of the head, is rather the shortest. The hair upon the face lies in regular order, as if it were combed, with its ends pointed upwards in a kind of radii from the nose, their centre.

The ears are sharp and erect, of two inches and three-tenths in length, stand well asunder, and are in nowise disproportionate. The eyes are small, and rather sunken than prominent, but quick and lively. They are placed about two inches and five-tenths asunder, a little below the centre of the imaginary triangle towards the nose. The nice co-adaptation of their ciliary processes, which are covered with fine hair, seems to afford the animal an extraordinary power of excluding whatever might be hurtful.

The nose is large or spreading; the nostrils large, long, and capable of being closed. They stand angularly with each other, and a channel is continued from them towards the upper lip, which is divided like that of the hare. The whiskers are rather thick and strong, and are in length from two to three

inches and five-tenths. The opening of its mouth is small ; it contains five long grass-cutting teeth in the front of each jaw, like those of the kangaroo ; within them is a vacancy for an inch or more ; then appear two small canine teeth of equal height with, and so much similar to, eight molares situated behind, as scarcely to be distinguishable from them. The whole number in both jaws amounts to twenty-four.

The neck is thick and short, and greatly restrains the motions of the head, which, according to a common expression, looks as if it were stuck upon the shoulders. From the neck the back arches a little as far as the loins, whence it goes off at a flat slope to the hindmost parts, where not any tail is visible. A tail, however, may be found by carefully passing the finger over the flat slope in a line with the back bone. After separating the hairs, it is seen of some five-tenths of an inch in length, and from three to one-tenth of an inch in diameter, naked, except for a few short fine hairs near its end. This curious tail seemed to hold a much bolder proportion in the young than in the full-grown animal.

The fore legs are very strong and muscular ; their length, to the sole of the paw, is five inches and five-tenths, and the distance between them is five inches and five-tenths. The paws are fleshy, round, and large, being one inch and nine-tenths in diameter. The claws are five in number, attached to as many short digitations. The three middle claws are strong, and about eight or nine-tenths of an inch in length ; the thumb and little finger claws are also strong, but shorter than the others, being only from six to seven tenths of an inch. The fleshy root of the thumb claw is smaller and more flexible than the others. The sole of the paw is hard, and the upper part is covered with common hair, down to the roots of the claws which it overhangs. The hind legs are less strong and muscular than the fore ; their length, to the sole, is five inches and five-tenths ; the distance between, seven inches and five-tenths. The hind paw is longer than the fore, but not less fleshy. The claws are four in number,

The three inner ones are less strong, but about two-tenths of an inch longer than the longest of the fore claws ; and there is a fleshy spur in the place of a thumb claw. The whole paw has a curve, which throws its fore part rather inward.

In size the two sexes are nearly the same ; but the female is, perhaps, rather the heaviest.

In the opinion of Mr. Bass, this Wom-bat seemed to be very economically made ; but he thought it unnecessary to give an account of its internal structure in his journal.

This animal has not any claim to swiftness of foot, as most men could run it down. Its pace is hobbling, or shuffling, something like the awkward gait of a bear. In disposition it is mild and gentle ; but it bites hard, and is furious, when provoked. Mr. Bass never but once heard its voice ; but at that time it was a low cry, between a hissing and a whizzing, which could not be heard at a distance of more than thirty or forty yards. He chased one, and with his hands under the belly suddenly lifted him off the ground, and laid him upon his back, along his arm, like a child. It made no noise, nor any effort to escape, not even a struggle. Its countenance was placid, and it seemed as contented as if it had been nursed by Mr. Bass from its infancy. He carried the beast upwards of a mile, and often shifted him from arm to arm, sometimes laying him upon his shoulder, all of which he took in good part ; until, being obliged to secure his legs while he went into the brush to cut a specimen of new wood, the creature's anger arose with the pinching of the twine ; he whizzed with all his might, kicked and scratched most furiously, and snapped off a piece from the elbow of Mr. Bass's coat. Their friendship was here at an end ; and the creature remained implacable all the way to the boat, ceasing to kick only when he was exhausted.

This circumstance seemed to indicate, that with kind treatment the Wom-bat might soon be rendered extremely docile, and probably affectionate ; but let his tutor beware of giving him provocation, at least if he should be full grown.

Both in these islands, and in the mountains to the westward of Port Jackson, their habitation is under ground, the creature being admirably formed for burrowing; but to what depth it descends does not seem to be ascertained. His food is not yet well known; but the stomachs of such as Mr. Bass examined were distended with a coarse wirey grass.

Cape Barren, besides the kangaroo and Wom-bat, is inhabited by the porcupine ant-eater; a rat with webbed feet; parrots, and a small bird of beautiful plumage unknown at Port Jackson. Black snakes with venomous fangs were numerous; and the rocks toward the sea were covered with fur-seals of great beauty. "In point of animated life, nature seems (says Mr. Bass) to have acted so oddly with this and the neighbouring islands, that if their rich stores were thoroughly ransacked, I doubt not but the departments of natural history would be enlarged by more new and valuable specimens than they ever before acquired from any land of many times their extent."

Leaving Furneaux's Islands, the Norfolk proceeded toward the north coast of Van Dieman's land; and on the 4th of November they passed within a mile of a high grassy cape, which is the seaward extremity of a ridge, that, rising by a gentle ascent, retreats and joins some chains of lofty mountains. A small rocky island lay two miles from it to the W. S. W. At noon the latitude was 40 deg. 55 min. 25 sec. and the longitude 147 deg. 16 min. 30 sec.

Early in the afternoon a gap in the land, situated at the back of a deep narrow bight, which had for some time attracted attention, began to assume the appearance of an inlet, which they bore away to examine; and, after running three miles, found that they had shut in the line of the coast on each side, and were impelled forward by a strong inset of tide; and when the sloop was on the point of entering the harbour, which appeared to be fairly open before her, the water shoaled suddenly, she struck the ground and lay fast; but fortunately the strong flood in a few minutes dragged her

over into deep water, and shot her into the entrance with uncommon velocity.

Having advanced within the entrance, the harbour began to expand itself in a kind of large basin. Its shores were broken into points and projections, between some of which the great strength of the flood tide led them to expect it would branch off into arms. The land lying immediately upon its borders was low, but not flat; well wooded; and those points near which the sloop passed were clothed with a very unusual degree of verdure. The sun being down, the vessel was anchored for the night, and the next day they proceeded with their researches.

They were employed during sixteen days in the examination of this place; and the result of the observations which were made by Mr. Bass in different parts of it, and the neighbouring country, are thrown by that gentleman into one general account.

This harbour, or inlet, which was named, by the Governor, Port Dalrymple, takes its course from the S. E. between two chains of rounded mountains, stretching inland from the sea with an almost imperceptible increase of elevation; and, after gradually approximating each other, seemed to unite, at the distance of between thirty and forty miles, in a body of rugged mountains more lofty than themselves. These two chains, in their relative positions, formed an acute angle; being at their greatest distance asunder, as measured along the sea-coast, only sixteen miles. Being pressed for time, they were deterred from attempting to reach the head of the river; but it was hardly to be doubted, that its principal source proceeded from some part near the point of union of the two chains of mountains. Allowing this supposition, a great part of its stream must be perfectly fresh; for at the place where they ended their examination, which was not more than half of the whole supposed distance or length of the river, it had become half fresh half salt, although its breadth was from half a mile to a mile and a half, and its depth eight or nine fathoms.

The country which Mr. Bass had an opportunity of observing, was a certain portion of that lying within the angle formed by two chains of mountains; and more especially of the parts which lay contiguous to the water, rather than of those situated in the vicinity of the chains.

The quality of the ground, taking it in the aggregate, was much superior to that of the borders of any of the salt-water inlets of New South Wales, Western Port excepted. The vegetable mould was, however, found to be of no great depth, and was sometimes, perhaps advantageously, mixed with small quantities of sand.

The best of the soil was found upon the sides of sloping hills, and in broad vallies between them. Some parts, that were low and level, had a peat-like surface, bounded by small tracts of flowering shrubs and odoriferous plants, that perfumed the air with the fragrance of their oils. These retained, in general, the appearance of those in New South Wales; while they were, in reality, very different. The rich and vivid colouring of the more northern flowers, and that soft and exquisite gradation of tints, for which they are so singularly distinguished, hold with those here, but in a less eminent degree. The two countries present a perfect similiarity in this, that the more barren spots are the most gaily adorned. The curious florist and scientific botanist would find ample subject of exultation in their different researches in Port Dalrymple.

Except in these places, the grass grows not in tufts, but covers the land equally with a short nutritious herbage, better adapted, possibly, to the bite of small than of large cattle. The food for the latter grows in bottoms of vallies and upon the damp flats. A large proportion of the soil promised a fair return to the labours of the cultivator, and a lesser ensures an ample reward; but the greater part would, perhaps, be more advantageously employed if left for pasturage, than if thrown into cultivation; it would be poor as the one, but rich as the other.

Water was found in runs more than ponds ; and, though not abundant, it was far from being scarce.

The west side of the river furnishes the largest quantity of the best ground. The country lying near the west arm is in general flat, and might be converted to many useful purposes, both in agriculture and in pasturage ; for which last it is probably well calculated. If it should ever be proposed to make a settlement here, this part seems to merit very particular attention. The best land seems to be that fine hilly country which lies at the back of an island named Middle Island ; but access to it is not easy, on account of a large shoal extending along its front, which is dry at low water.

In sailing up the river, the points and shores present an appearance of fertility that astonishes an eye used to those of the rocky harbours of New South Wales. They are mostly grassed, as well as wooded, close down to the water side ; but every where a dark luxuriant vegetation meets the view.

The tides run so uncommonly rapid, that if the port were colonized, and the principal town built, as it no doubt would be, near the entrance, the produce of the villages and farms scattered along its banks might be brought to market with the greatest ease, expedition, and certainty.

The heavy timber is chiefly gum-tree of various species ; of which, two are different from any that have been yet seen in this country. The smaller trees and shrubs resemble, with some variety, those of the continent.

The gray kangaroo, of a very large size, abounded in the green forest ; the brushes were tenanted by the smaller black kind.

The plumage of the parrots forms a gloomy contrast with the rich lustre of those near the settlement, their colours being rather grave than gay. The melancholy cry of the Bell-bird (*dil boong*, after which Bennillong named his infant child) seems to be unknown here. Many aquatic birds, both web-footed and waders, frequent the arms and coves of the river ; but the black swans alone are remarkable in point of number.

Mr. Bass once made a rough calculation of three hundred swimming within the space of a quarter of a mile square, and heard the "dying song" of some scores; but that song, so celebrated by the poets of former times, exactly resembled the creaking of a rusty alehouse sign on a windy day. Not more than two thirds of any flock which they fell in with could fly; the rest could do no more than flap along upon the surface of the water, being either moulting or not yet come to their full feather and growth, which they require two years to attain. They swam and flapped alternately, and went on surprisingly fast. When in danger, they immerse their bodies so far, that the water makes a passage between their neck and back; and in this position they would frequently turn aside a heavy load of shot. They seemed to be endowed with much sagacity; in chase, they soon learned the weakest point of their pursuers, and, instead of swimming directly from them, as they did at first, always endeavoured in the most artful manner to gain the wind. To their affection for their young, Mr. Bass has seen some lamentable sacrifices; but of their fierceness, at least when opposed to man, or their strength, he had seen no instance.

Among other reptiles were found the snake with venomous fangs, and some large brown guanoes.

This country is inhabited by men; and, if any judgment could be formed from the number of huts which they met, in about the same proportion as New South Wales. Their extreme shyness, however, prevented any communication.—They never even got sight of them but once, and then at a great distance. The huts, of which seven or eight were generally found together, were wretchedly contrived; and it appears somewhat strange that in the latitude of 41 deg. want should not have sharpened their ideas to the invention of some more convenient habitation, especially since they have been left by nature without the confined dwelling of a hollow tree, or the more agreeable accommodation of a hole under a rock. A canoe was never met with, and concurring circumstances

shewed that this convenience was unknown here. Hence, from the little that has been seen of the condition of our own species in this place, it appears to be much inferior in some essential points of convenience to that of the despised inhabitants of the continent. How miserable a being would the latter be, were his canoe taken from him, his stone hatchet blunted, his hut pervious to the smallest shower of rain, and few or no excavations in the rocks to fly to! but happiness, like every thing else, exists only by comparison with the stage above and the stage below our own. The circumstances which occasioned this difference between the people of two countries so near each other, and so much alike in their natural productions, must remain hidden from our observation until perhaps some permanent European settlement shall be made in Van Dieman's land.

The range of the thermometer, taken in various parts of the port, was at night from 49 deg. to 52 deg. and at noon from 58 deg. to 64 deg.

On the 20th of November they left Port Dalrymple, and proceeded to the westward; but, the wind changing, they were driven back to Furneaux's islands, where, the gale continuing at west, they were detained until the 3d of December, when they were enabled to proceed. Their progress was slow, and unavoidably at too great a distance from the shore to form any just idea of the country; but what was seen of it appeared high and mountainous, the mountains forming into hummocks and low peaks, to which a few large shapeless knobs added a great singularity of appearance. On the haze clearing away, and the shore being distinctly seen, it appeared rocky, but wooded nearly down to the water's edge. A remarkable peaked mountain, some few miles inland, might have been thought, from its shape and height, to have been once a volcano. A very singular lump of high level, or table land, lay at a few miles to the westward in the coast line; and at some distance beyond it, a point appeared with three knobs of land lying off it, resembling islands. This was named

Table Cape. From this time nothing of moment occurred till the 11th, when they stretched in for the land, a large extent of which was indistinctly visible through a light haze that hung about the horizon. At noon the latitude was 41 deg. 15 min. and the longitude 148 deg. 58 min. with a fresh breeze at N. N. E. they bore away along the shore, which trends to the S. E. by E. and is distant three or four miles.

From a shore of beach, with short rocky points at intervals, the land rose gradually to a considerable height, the aspect of which was barren and brushy, and the soil sandy. Several short reefs of rocks lay in front of the beaches, and broke the long swell into a surf of tremendous appearance.

Dreading a gale of wind from the west, which was threatening, and might have proved fatal to their little vessel, they hauled out to the S. S. W.; but the weather remained moderate.

On the following morning the wind flew round to the northward, and they continued their route along the shore. Early in the forenoon they passed a singularly formed point, with a number of lumps of rock lying some two or three miles off it to the S. W. It resembled an artificial pier, or mole, with warehouses upon it, and a light-house on the end next the water. Large masses of detached oblong rocks gave the appearance of warehouses; and a remarkably long one standing upon its end that of the light-house. Their latitude at noon was 42 deg. 02 min. and the longitude 145 deg. 16 min. The coast still trended to the S. S. E. and the land began to change that uniformly regular figure which it had hitherto preserved. It was becoming mountainous and uneven, but was still barren.

Mr. Bass and his fellow voyager, Lieutenant Flinders, did not hesitate now to conclude that they had passed through the strait, and from the Pacific had entered the Southern Indian Ocean; for what within the extent of a vast sea could give birth to the monstrous swell that was rolling in before their

eyes? and the coast was evidently trending towards the S. W. cape.

It was worthy of remark (Mr. Bass says), that the northern shore of the strait, from Wilson's Promontory (seen in the whale-boat) to Western Port, resembled the bluff bold shore of an open sea, with a swell rolling in, and a large surf breaking upon it; while the southern shore, or what is the coast of Van Dieman's land, appeared like the inner shore of a cluster of islands, whose outer parts break off the great weight of the sea. The cause of this is immediately obvious, on recollecting that the swell of the Indian ocean enters the strait from the southward of west. The greater part of the southern shore lies in a bight, whose western extreme is Hunter's Isles, and the N. W. cape of Van Dieman's land. Now as the swell comes from the southward, as well as the westward, it must, after striking upon the north-west part of the southern shore, evidently run on in a direction somewhat diagonal with the two sides of the strait, until it expands itself upon the northern shore, where both swell and surf are found. But to the southward of this diagonal line the swell must quickly take off, and totally disappear, long before it can reach the shore to make a surf. Hence arises the difference.

That the swell of the Indian ocean comes, by far the greater part of the way, from the southward of west, can hardly be doubted, since it is well known that prevailing winds are from that quarter.

Early in the afternoon of the 11th, a piece of land stood out from the line of the coast like an island, but was soon found to be joined to the main by a sandy beach. The shore beyond it looked rugged and craggy, and the land equalled the most sterile and stoney that had been seen.

Towards noon the coast began to rise into chains of lofty mountains, which ran along in nearly the same line as the coast. The latitude was 43 deg. 07 min. the longitude 145 deg. 42 min. A large smoke that got up astern of the vessel was the first sign of inhabitants that had been seen

upon this west coast, the appearance of which was miserably barren.

At eight in the evening they passed the S. W. cape of Van Dieman's land, hitherto known as that of New Holland. It is a narrow piece of land, projecting from the higher land at no great distance, with two flattish hummocks, that gave it some little resemblance to the Ram Head near Plymouth. At sun-set they were about a mile and a half from the South Cape.

The south-west and south capes lie nearly east and west of each other, and are distant about fifteen leagues. The intermediate coast forms the southern boundary of Van Dieman's Land; but if taken upon the more extensive scale of the whole southern hemisphere, it appears, as the southern point of New Holland, to be of equal respectability with the extremity of Terra del Fuego and of the Cape of Good Hope, the south points of the continents of America and Africa.

Like that of Terra del Fuego, the extremity of Van Dieman's Land presents a rugged and determined front to the icy regions of the south pole; and like it seems once to have extended further south than it does at present. To a very unusual elevation, is added an irregularity of form, that justly entitles it to rank among the foremost of the grand and wildly magnificent scenes of nature. It abounds with peaks and ridges, gaps and fissures, that not only disdain the smallest uniformity of figure, but are ever changing shape, as the point of view shifts. Beneath this strange confusion, the western part of this waving coast-line observes a regularity equally remarkable as the wild disorder which prevails above. Lofty ridges of mountain bounded by tremendous cliffs, project from two to four miles into the sea, at nearly equal distances from each other, with a breadth varying from two miles to two and a half. The bights or bays lying between them are backed by sandy beaches. These vast buttresses appear to be the southern extremities of the mountains of Van Dieman's Land; which it can hardly be doubted, have

once projected into the sea far beyond their present abrupt termination, and have been united with the now detached land, De Witt's Isles. These isles, (so named, probably, by Tasman) twelve in number, are of various sizes. The two largest are from three to four miles in circuit. Their sides are steep; but their height is inferior to that of the main. The largest is the lowest. Their aspect, like that of the main, bespeaks extreme sterility.

A great smoke that arose at the back of one of the bights shewed the main to be inhabited; but they could not suppose the people of this place to be furnished with canoes, when those of Adventure Bay, in their neighbourhood, were unprovided with them. Nothing, therefore, was left to their choice, but to allow that they might transport themselves over, either upon logs of wood, or by swimming across; and, as the most probable reward of such an exertion would be, the capture of birds while breeding, or the seizure of their eggs, the utility of spreading fires in facilitating such operations is obvious.

After passing several places of smaller note, they entered Herdsman's Cove; above which, it being the opinion of Mr. Baas and his companion that the sloop could not proceed, they went up the Derwent River in her boat, imagining that one tide would enable them to reach its source; but in this they were mistaken, falling, as they believed, several miles short of it. Where the returning tide met them, the water had become perfectly fresh; the stream was two hundred and thirty yards in breadth, and in depth three fathoms. It was wedged in between high grassy hills that descended to the river upon a quick slope, and had a very grand appearance. But the only culturable patches of land that they saw were some few breaks in the hills, and some narrow slips that were found at their foot close to the water's side.

In their way up, a human voice saluted them from the hills; on which they landed, carrying with them one of several swans which they had just shot. Having nearly reached the

summit, two females, with a short covering hanging loose from their shoulders, suddenly appeared at some little distance before them; but, snatching up each a small basket, these scampered off. A man then presented himself, and suffered them to approach him without any signs of fear or distrust. He received the swan joyfully, appearing to esteem it a treasure.

His language was unintelligible to them, as was theirs to him, although they addressed him in several of the dialects of the New South Wales, and some few of the most common words of the South Sea Islands. With some difficulty they made him comprehend their wish to see his place of residence. He pointed over the hill, and proceeded onwards; but his pace was slow and wandering, and he often stopped under pretence of having lost the track; which led them to suspect that his only aim was, to amuse and tire them out. Judging, then, that in persisting to follow him they must lose the remaining part of the flood tide, which was much more valuable to them than the sight of his hut could be, they parted from him in great friendship.

The most probable reason of his unwillingness to be their guide seemed to be, his fearing that if he took them to his women, their charms might induce them to run off with them, a jealousy very common with the natives of the continent.

He was a short slight man, of a middle age, with a countenance more expressive of benignity and intelligence, than of that ferocity or stupidity which generally characterized the other natives; and his features were less flattened, or negro-like, than theirs. His face was blackened; and the top of his head was plastered with red earth. His hair was either naturally short and close, or had been rendered so by burning, and, although short and stiffly curled, they did not think it woolly. He was armed with two spears, very ill made, of solid wood. No part of their dress attracted his attention, except the red silk-handkerchiefs round their necks. Their fire-arms were to him objects neither of curiosity nor fear.

This was the first man they had spoken with in Van Diemen's Land; and his frank and open deportment led them not only to form a favourable opinion of the disposition of its inhabitants, but to conjecture that if the country was peopled in the usual numbers, he would not have been the only one they should have met. A circumstance which corroborated this supposition was, that in the excursions made by Mr. Bass into the country, having seldom any other society than his two dogs, he would have been no great object of dread to a people ignorant of the effects of fire-arms, and would certainly have been hailed by any one who might have seen him.

They fell in with many huts along the different shores of the river, of the same bad construction as those of Port Dalrymple, but with fewer heaps of muscle-shells lying near them. The natives of this place, probably, drew the principal part of their food from the woods; the bones of small animals, such as opossums, squirrels, kangaroo rats, and bandicoots, were numerous round their deserted fire-places; and the two spears which they saw in the hands of the man were similar to those used for hunting in other parts. Many trees also were observed to be notched. No canoes were ever seen, nor any trees so barked as to answer that purpose.

Besides the small quadrupeds already mentioned, they observed the grey and red kangaroo. The feathered tribes were apparently similar to those of Port Dalrymple. Here again they daily ate their swan, the flocks of which even exceeded those that they had before met with.

The most formidable among the reptiles was the black snake with venomous fangs; and so much in colour resembling a burnt stick, that a close inspection only could detect the difference. Mr. Bass once, with his eyes cautiously directed towards the ground, stepped over one which was lying asleep among some black sticks, and would have passed on without observing it, had not its loud hiss attracted his attention the moment afterwards.

He determined on taking him alive, in order to try the effect of his bite upon a hawk that he had in his possession. In the contest, he bit himself; after which he was soon mastered, and in less than ten minutes died. Having never before known a snake of his size to be killed by a few very slight blows with a stick, which was so rotten as scarcely to bear the weight of its own blow, he was at a loss to conceive how death had so suddenly succeeded so much vigour in an animal so tenacious of life. Was it possible that his own bite could have been the cause? When, three hours afterwards, the skin was stripped off, the flesh for some distance round the marks of his teeth was found inflamed and discoloured.

The account of the Derwent River being now closed, and the whole of what was learned of Van Dieman's Land related, it may not be improper, says Mr. Bass, to point out the manner in which this country and New South Wales appear to differ in their most essential quality, that of their soil.

In adjusting their comparative fertility, the contrasted disposition of their soils is much more prominent than any inequality in their quantity. They are poor countries; but, as far as the eye of discovery has yet penetrated into either, the culturable soil of the latter is found lying in a few distinct patches of limited extent, and of varying quality; while the soil of the former, being more equally spread, those spots of abundant richness, or large wilds of unimproveable sterility, are much less frequently seen.

Although Van Dieman's Land seems to possess few or none of those vast depths of soil with which the happiest spots of New South Wales are blessed; yet it seldom sickens the heart of its traveller with those extensive tracts which at once disarm industry, and leave the warmest imagination without one beguiling project.

In point of productive soil Mr. Bass gives the preponderance to Van Dieman's Land.

In one particular, which to the inhabitants of a civilized country is of the utmost importance, both countries are but

too much alike : each is amply stored with water for the common purposes of life ; but deficient in those large inter-sections of it which, in other more fortunate countries, so much facilitate the operations of man, and lead commerce to the door of even the most inland farmer.

Two rivers only, Port Dalrymple and the Derwent, are known to descend from Van Dieman's Land ; but by Point St. Vincent, possibly, there may be a third.

On the 3d of January they left the Derwent, and proceeded to the northward, coasting the east side of Frederick-Henry Bay, which was for the most part high and steep to the sea. The figure of the shore, between what is now called Cape Basaltcs and Cape Pillar, exhibited one of these great works of nature which seldom fail to excite surprize : it was all basaltic. The cape is a vast high wedge, which projects into the sea, surmounted by lofty single columns.

Early on the morning of the 8th they were among the islands lying off the Patriarchs. These were three in number ; the largest of which was high, rocky, and barren, with a basis of granite ; which, like that of Preservation Island, laid scattered about in large detached blocks. Mr. Bass landed upon the outermost, and found it well inhabited. The various tribes had divided it into districts. One part was white with gannets, breeding in nests of earth and dried grass. Petrels and penguins had their under-ground habitations in those parts of the island which had the most grass. The rocks of the shore, and blocks of granite, were occupied by the pied offensive shag and common gull ; geese, red-bills, and qualls, lived in common ; and the rest was appropriated to the seals, who seemed to be lords of the domain. Mr. Bass remarked with surprize, that though the principal herd scampered off like sheep, as is usual on the first approach, yet the males, who possessed a rock to themselves, where they sat surrounded by their numerous wives and progeny, on his drawing near them, hobbled up with a menacing roar, and fairly commenced the attack, while the wives seemed to rest

their security upon the superior courage and address of their loads; for, instead of retreating into the water in the utmost consternation, they only raised themselves upon their side fins, as if ready for a march; keeping their eyes upon the males, and watching the movements of the enemy.

Having collected as much stock as was necessary, they stood to the northward, and on the 12th reached Port Jackson. On delivering the account of his voyage to the Governor, he named the principal discovery which was the event of it, Bass Strait, as a tribute to the discoverer.

The most prominent advantage which seemed likely to accrue to the settlement from this discovery was, the expediting of the passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Jackson.

The vessel that has the credit of having first circumnavigated Van Dieman's Land was built at Norfolk Island, of the fir of that country, which was found to answer extremely well.

CHAP. XXX.

State of the Colony—Emigrations—Gael boats—Natives—Spanish prize arrives—State of Norfolk Island—Resources of New South Wales—Cattle brought from the Cape—Natives—Storms—A Whaler's quick passage from England—A Missionary murdered—The Murderer's tried and executed.

WE must now return to the other affairs of the settlement, from which we have been so long absent. Agricultural concerns wore as unpromising an appearance as in the last month. The Governor, in a visit which he made to Parramatta, found that the pasture over the whole country had been entirely burnt up; in consequence of which the grazing cattle were in great distress; and, from the lamentable continuance of the drought, the maize was every where likely to fail: a misfortune that would ruin the stock of hogs, and considerably reduce the settlement in the article of bread.

That he might ascertain what quantity of grain he had to depend on, all those who cultivated ground were directed, to give in, by a certain time, a return of the wheat and other grain in their possession. About this time his Excellency received from Norfolk Island the satisfactory intelligence, that the wheat harvest had there been more productive than usual; but the maize was likely to fall short from a similar want of rain.

At the close of January the Criminal Court of Judicature was assembled; when a serjeant of the New South Wales corps was condemned for a forgery, but recommended to the Governor's mercy by the court; another was condemned for a burglary; and a third sentenced to receive a severe corporal punishment, for having shot a native at Botany Bay. Could the evidence of some of these people have been taken, it was supposed that he would have been capitally convicted; in which case he would certainly have suffered, the Governor having determined to put that article of his Majesty's instructions in force, which, in placing these people under the protection of the British Government, enjoined the punishing of any injury done to their persons or property. When the culprit was brought out to be punished, several of the natives attended; and he received in their presence as much of his sentence as he could bear, they witnessing his sufferings with the most perfect indifference.

The weather was exceedingly hot during the whole of January. On the 8th of February, a prisoner who had been condemned to die by the last court suffered the sentence of the law. The recollection of his untimely end, and his admonitions from the fatal tree, could not have departed from the minds of those who saw and heard him, when another court sent another offender to make the same atonement for his numerous crimes. Indeed, the journal of this month would furnish little else than a catalogue of executions, robberies, and instances of depravity; among which was the destroying, by fire the public goal at Sydney; nor was any

doubt entertained of its having been done through design, though it will be read with horror, that at that time there were confined within its walls twenty prisoners, most of whom were loaded with irons, and who, with much difficulty, were snatched from the flames. Feeling for each other was never imputed to these miscreants; and yet, if several were engaged in the commission of a crime, they have seldom been known to betray their companions in iniquity. But from scenes so disgraceful to human nature the mind feels relieved, even though compelled to turn to those of calamity. Yet, before we proceed, it is but justice to those in power to observe, that, were it not evident that certain punishment awaited the conviction of offenders, it might be supposed that a relaxation of the civil authority had begotten impunity; but far otherwise was the fact: the police was vigilant, the magistrates active, and the Governor ever anxious to support them, with incessant diligence endeavoured to establish good order and morality in the settlement. But such was the depravity of these people, from the habitual practice of vice, that they were become alike fearless of the punishments of this world, or of that which is to come.

The great drought and excessive heat had effected the water. Such ponds as still retained any were reduced so very low, that most of them were become brackish, and scarcely drinkable. From this circumstance, it was conjectured, that the earth contained a large portion of salt; for the ponds even on the high grounds were not fresh. The woods between Sydney and Parramatta were completely on fire, the trees being burnt to the tops; and every blade of grass was destroyed.

The entrance of March was accompanied by two or three days rain, which greatly refreshed the gardens that were almost wholly burnt up, and every where revived the perishing vegetation. At the Hawkesbury, however, an accident occurred, which, although not so ruinous to the colony at large as the drought, proved most destructive to the settlers in that district. This river suddenly, and in the course of a

very few hours, swelled to the height of fifty feet above its common level, and with such rapidity and power as to carry every thing before it. The government-house, which had been erected at the first settling of that part of the country, was swept away, with a quantity of provisions which had been deposited in it. Many of the inhabitants were taken off from the ridges of their houses, by a few boats which they fortunately had among them, just in time to save their lives; for most of the dwellings were inundated, and the whole country appeared like an extensive lake. Many hogs, other live-stock, poultry, with much of the produce of the last unfortunate harvest, and the domestic effects of the people, were hurried away by the torrent. Fortunately, however, only one life was lost.

This was a most serious calamity; and, no cause having appeared to indicate an approaching overflow of the river, the settlers were not prepared for such a disaster. It was said, that the natives foresaw it, and apprised the inhabitants. There could, however, be no doubt, that, unperceived by our people, a heavy fall of rain had taken place in the interior of the country, among the mountains; and which, from the parched state of the land for such a length of time, had in no part been absorbed, but ran down the sides of the hills, as from mountains of solid rock, filling all the low grounds, and branches of the river; which, being in form suddenly serpentine, could not give vent so fast as the waters descended.

In a few days this extraordinary collection of water had found its way to the sea; and, the river regaining its usual level, the settlers set about new cropping their grounds; for which purpose they were supplied with seed wheat on the government account; their request for bedding and clothing, it was not so easy to comply with, from the poverty of the public stores in these articles.

Among the public works at this time in hand were, the raising the walls of the new gaol, laying the upper floor of a windmill, and erecting the churches of Sydney and Parramatta.

Most of these buildings did not advance so rapidly as the necessity for them required, owing to the weakness of the public gangs; and, indeed, scarcely ever had there been a thorough day's labour obtained from them. They never felt themselves interested in the effect of their work, knowing that the ration from the store, whatever it might be, would be issued to them, whether they earned it or not; unlike the labouring man whose subsistence, and that of his family, depend upon his exertions. For the individual who would pay them for their services with spirits, they would labour while they had strength to lift the hoe or the axe; but when government required the production of that strength, it was not forthcoming; and it was more to be wondered, that under such disadvantages so much, rather than so little, had been done. The convicts whose services belonged to the Crown were, by far the greater part, a worthless dissipated set, who never thought beyond the present moment; and they were for ever employed in rendering that moment as easy to themselves as their invention could enable them.

Of the settlers and their disposition, much has been already said. The assistance and encouragement which from time to time were given them, they were found not to deserve. The greater part had originally been convicts; and it is not to be supposed, that while they continued in that state, their habits were much improved. With these habits, then, they became freemen and settlers; the effect of which was, to render them insolent and presuming; and many of them continued a dead weight upon the government, without reducing the expences of the colony. These expences were certainly great, and had been considerably increased. The settlement was at this time much in want of many necessary articles of life; and when these were brought by speculators and traders who occasionally touched there, they demanded more than five hundred per cent. above what the same articles could have been sent out for from England, with every addition of freight, insurance, &c.

It having been for several days reported, that the crews of two boats, which had been permitted to go to Hunter's River, had been cut off by the natives, the Governor ordered his whale-boat to be well-armed, and to proceed thither in quest of the boats and their crews, sending in her Henry Hacking, a person on whom he could depend. This man, at his return, informed the Governor, that on his arrival an attempt had been made to burn the smaller boat, which had three men in her, who were each provided with a musquet. The boat was there, but the men were not to be found. Going in search of them, he fell in with a large body of natives, all armed. On desiring them to inform him what was become of the white men, they told him that they were gone to Sydney. This, however, did not satisfy him, as he found that they had taken away the sails of the boat, the men's blankets, and every thing that they had with them. He then threatened to kill them if they did not instantly inform him, and presented his musquet; at which they laughed, and said, that if he did not go away, and leave them a small boat which he had with him, and the whale-boat, they would destroy every white man there, and poised their spears in a threatening manner. He again levelled his musquet, in the hope of alarming them; but they were not so easily frightened, and became more noisy and violent. Finding that an attack was almost certain, he charged his gun with buck-shot, and ordered them to leave the place; but, their clamour increasing, he fired, and four of them fell, one of whom got up again and ran off, the other three remaining upon the ground, probably mortally wounded. The whole disappeared, leaving Hacking to fill his boat and effect his retreat unmolested. The men who had been missing, some time after fortunately reached the settlement.

On the 24th, the Nautilus returned from Norfolk Island, and with her came in a Spanish ship, a prize to two whalers, which they had captured off Cape Blanco on the coast of Peru. A Court of Vice-Admiralty having been assembled,

she was condemned as a legal prize, and part of her cargo sold by public auction.

This was a new circumstance in the annals of the settlement, and wore the appearance of rendering it of more consequence than it had hitherto been. Did it not go to prove, that at some future period, in the event of a Dutch war, it might become a place of much importance, by offering a reception to the prizes of our cruizers, a court whereat they could be condemned, and a market for their cargoes?

Two days afterwards the Norfolk returned from Norfolk Island, bringing a confirmation of the entire failure of the maize harvest.

Every year's experience proved, that that island never would be of the utility which might be expected from the very great expence that was incurred on its account. It was probable, that this expence had not been adverted to in England; for all the bills drawn there were sent to New South Wales to be consolidated into bills upon the treasury; by which means the expences of the principal settlement appeared to be far more considerable than in fact they were. The boast of its containing timber, and flax fit for naval purposes, sufficient to construct and equip a navy, falls to the ground, when it is considered that the whole island does not contain a single harbour, cove, or inlet, fit to shelter a boat, much less a ship; but that it is surrounded by a dangerous coral reef, which has proved the loss of one King's ship, and many lives. Besides, the soil of New South Wales produces timber and flax perfectly calculated for all naval purposes, and in sufficient abundance. If an idea may be hazarded, Van Dieman's Island holds out in every respect a more advantageous spot for a settlement, where the inhabitants would have every thing that Norfolk Island has to offer, besides the superior benefits of a temperate climate and capacious harbour.

In addition to the advantages likely to be obtained in New South Wales by the culture of the flax plant, the breed of sheep had been considerably improved, by crossing the small

Bengal with the larger Cape sheep. The fleece produced from this mixture was excellent; and a specimen of woollen cloth fabricated of it was sent to England. One end of a web of linen, woven from the wild flax of the country, was crossed with a thread spun from the bark of a tree; and a web from that bark was crossed, in the specimen sent home, by a thread of wool. All these were made under many difficulties; but they answered the purpose of shewing what might be done, with proper tools, at a future period. There was not any doubt, but that the flax plant would considerably improve by cultivation; and the manufacture of woollens promised to be of great benefit to the settlement, whenever a sufficiency of the raw materials should be collected.

The discovery of the vast strata of coal must be reckoned among the new lights thrown upon the resources of the colony. The facility that this presents in working the iron ore with which the settlement abounded, must prove of infinite utility if a dock-yard should ever be established there.

On the 8d of May his Majesty's ship Buffalo arrived from England; but last from the Cape of Good Hope, whence she brought sixty-six head of cattle. She had also on board some tools and articles of hardware for the use of the colony; but, unfortunately, no bedding or clothing of any kind.

The natives, ever hostile to the settlers, had lately killed one of them: these natives belonged to the tribe of which Po-mul-wy was the leader.

Savage as these beings were toward the white people, and to each other, yet they could unbend, and divert themselves with the softer amusements of singing and dancing. It might be supposed, that with this exercise, and the company of their females, their angry and turbulent passions would be at rest, and the idea of murder could not enter their minds; yet have they been often known to start away, in search of some unsuspected object of their hatred, who, before the morning, has received a dozen spears through his body; and this is man in his uncultivated state!

The weather nearly throughout the month of June had been extremely tempestuous, blowing a heavy gale from the southward, attended with a deluge of rain. The ravages of this storm were so great, that the settlement was thrown back a full twelvemonth in those works which at the time were expected very shortly to be completed. The weather had never, from the establishment of the colony, been observed to be so severe. The settlement had, indeed, between the fires of the summer, and the floods and gales of the winter, suffered very considerably. Added to these, at this time, were the inconveniences arising from an unproductive harvest, from an exhausted store in the very essential articles of clothing and bedding, from the hostile disposition of many of the natives, and from the annihilation of morality, honesty, and industry, in the major part of the colonists.

As this picture is not exaggerated, the situation and feelings of the rational part of the settlement were certainly not to be envied.

Every exertion was immediately made to remedy the misfortunes occasioned by the late tempestuous weather. The erecting of a stone prison at Sydney being found to create much expense, as well as to require much time, the Governor called a meeting of the officers, principal inhabitants, and landholders, and proposed an assessment to be furnished by each, as well of money as of labour; which was readily agreed to on their part; and that necessary building was thenceforth carried on at their expence, the public stores only furnishing such iron as might be requisite.

On the 29th, the ship *Albion* anchored in the cove from England after a passage of only three months and fifteen days, the shortest ever yet made to that country. Mr. Ebor Bunker, who had been at Port Jackson before in the *William and Ann* transport, commanded the *Albion*, and was now selected by her owners, Messrs. Champions, to give the whale-fishing upon the coast a complete and fair trial. For this purpose, the ship was fitted out, with the accustomed liberality of those

gentlemen, in the amplest manner, with every store that could be necessary for her own use, and every comfort for her people. Fortunate would it have proved for the settlement in general, had these and such respectable gentlemen been among the first of those whose speculative views had induced them to embark their property in these undertakings: it would then have escaped the extortions which had been but too successfully practised by many others.

The month of July commenced with a most horrid murder, which was committed upon Mr. Samuel Clode, one of the missionaries, who had fled for refuge from the savages of Otaheite, to the less tolerable, because better instructed, civilized savages of Sydney. This act of more than savage barbarity was committed at the brick-fields, in the house of a soldier. His brains were beaten out at the back of his head, with an axe, and his throat so cut as nearly to sever the head from the body, which was then thrown into a saw-pit. It was discovered by a man who had been in the habit of concealing his hoe in the same place: such are the directions of Providence! The Criminal Court being convened, two men and one woman were on the clearest evidence convicted of the murder, and adjudged to suffer death.

It appeared upon the trial, that the trifling sum of ten pounds, which one of the men, a soldier, had been indebted to Mr. Clode, prompted him to his destruction. To effect this, he signified to the unfortunate gentleman, that if he would call at his hut in the evening he would pay him. He called accordingly; and while leaning over a table to draw up a receipt, received the first blow with the axe, from the hand of Thomas Jones, the soldier; Albury, the other man, who it had been agreed upon should give it, having failed in his resolution at the moment when he was expected to prove it. Being convicted on the 4th, they were executed on the 6th, upon the spot where the murder had been committed. The house was pulled down and burnt; and the bodies of the

two men were hung in chains near the place. That of the woman was delivered to the surgeon for dissection.

CHAP. XXXL

Gaol Fever introduced into the Colony—The Governor visits George's River—The Norfolk Sloop returns from the Northward—Particulars of her Voyage—Glass-house Bay—Natives—Skismiah—Further Proceedings—Preparations made for attacking the Natives—Enter Pumice-stone River—Natives—The manner of Singing, Dancing, and Description of their Persons—Account of Hervey's Bay—Passage to Port Jackson.

On the 26th of July the Hillsborough transport arrived from England, whence she had sailed with three hundred male convicts on board ; but from the raging of a gaol fever, that made its appearance soon after her departure, ninety-five had died during the voyage, and six more were added to the number a few days after they were landed.

It was impossible that any ship could have been better fitted by government for the accommodation of prisoners, during such a voyage, than was the Hillsborough ; but, unfortunately, they brought with them, perhaps, lurking in their clothing, a disease which bade defiance to all the measures that could be taken for their comfort and convenience.

The hospitals were immediately filled with the survivors, from whom no labour could, for a length of time, be expected ; and they were supplied with fresh meat.

Governor Hunter, in the beginning of August, spent some days in an excursion from Prospect-Hill to the settlement which he had established on the banks of George's River. Having before examined the country between Paramatta and the river, he now traced it in another direction, and had the gratification of finding it equally favourable to the cultivation with what he had before observed. The distance from the hill was about five miles, over excellent ground, well adapted

both for cultivation and pasturage, and equal to any on the banks of the Nile of New South Wales. The settlers, whom he had placed there, were all doing well, had not any complaints to make, and had not been molested for some time by the natives. On quitting them, he proceeded down the river to Botany Bay, and thence walked over-land to Sydney; between which places there was nothing but barren and uneven ground, but every where covered with the most beautiful flowering heath.

Shortly after his return, the Norfolk sloop came in from the northward, having been absent about six weeks upon a particular service; the following account of which is taken from the journal of Lieutenant Flinders, which he delivered to the Governor after his arrival.

The Governor being very desirous of gaining some information respecting the coast to the northward of Port Jackson, particularly of two large openings marked by Captain Cook, the Norfolk sloop was manned with volunteers from the two king's ships; and Lieutenant Flinders was accompanied by Dong-ree, a native of the north side of Broken Bay, who had been noted for his good disposition, and open and manly conduct. On this service they had sailed on the 8th of the preceding month.

At half past seven in the morning of Sunday the 9th they sounded; but without finding ground with fifteen fathoms of line, at the distance of half a mile from a small reef of black rocks, which ran off from a sugar-loaf point. There were two very low, and therefore dangerous rocks, lying at S. 20 deg. E. three or four miles, and S. E. about two miles from this point. These rocks require to be particularly guarded against by any vessel coming near the land.

Sounding with ten fathoms of line at half a mile distance from the shore of Cape Hawke, they got ground. The two hills here mentioned by Captain Cook were found to stand upon the pitch of the Cape, and were covered with brush down to the low cliffs. The strata in these cliffs lay forty or

fifty degrees from the horizontal line. From the Cape the coast falls back, forming a kind of double bay. The land was low, and rose, but very gradually, ridge over ridge inland to a moderate height, the country looking pleasant enough from the sea; but the trees appeared small, and mixed with brushwood. On the morning of the 10th it was discovered that the sloop had unfortunately sprung a very bad leak, which admitted so much water as kept one pump constantly at work, this was a serious cause of alarm; and the maize with which the sloop had been before loaded was continually choking up the pump.

After passing the solitary Isles, which Mr. Flinders thought might, with equal propriety, be termed the Miserable, from their sterile and uninviting appearance, they anchored in Shoal Bay, in two and a half fathoms water, on a hard sandy bottom.

On examining this bay in his boat, he found it to be very shallow. Having returned to the sloop about noon, he landed on the south head for the purpose of observing the latitude. The meridional altitude of the sun gave 29 deg. 26 min. 28 sec. S. for the latitude of the entrance into the bay.

Nothing here appearing to merit more than a superficial examination, Mr. Flinders did not think it worth consuming much of his time, and therefore got under way on the afternoon of the 12th.

On the 15th, they were 13 miles distant from Cape Byron; and at the same time the peak of Mount Warning was just appearing over it. Having hauled more off, to avoid the reef lying off Point Danger, on the following morning they found themselves at a considerable distance from the land. They now steered west for a large space, where no land was visible, and, perceiving breakers off the south point of the opening, were satisfied that this was Moreton Bay. Passing between these breakers and Point Lookout, they got ground in twenty fathoms water. As they drew nearer, there appeared to be a very large extent of water within the opening. The country to the seaward was wretchedly sandy. At dusk,

Cape Moreton bore west, distant two or three miles; and the highest glass-house, whose peak was just presenting itself over the distant land, had opened round it at W. 3 deg. or 4 deg. N. Two hummocks, resembling hay-cocks, distinct from any other land, opened soon after, a few degrees to the southward.

The vessel was now hauled in round Cape Moreton, to go into Glass-House Bay. While ranging within a mile of the shore, ten natives were counted, half of whom were probably women, from their keeping behind the others. The men made many antic gestures. One had a green branch in his hand, which he waved to and fro at the extent of his arm, from the ground on one side of him to that on the other; and some of them would run into the water occasionally, and beat the surf with sticks. They appeared to be friendly, using nearly the same word in calling our people that would have been made use of by a Port Jackson native, and seemed desirous that they should proceed up the bay.

At eight in the evening they anchored about two miles from a low sandy shore on the west side of the bay.

The next morning Mr. Flinders went in his boat toward the opening, taking Bong-ree, the native, with him. As they approached the sandy point, some dogs came down upon the beach; and soon after several natives made their appearance, most of them carrying fishing-nets over their shoulders. They lay upon their ears some time, conversing with them by sighs, and repeating the words which they had made use of. As they seemed to be friendly, Bong-ree wished to make them a visit; and, seeing nothing among them but the pieces of fire-wood which the natives usually carry with them, he jumped on shore, naked, and as unarmed as they themselves appeared.

He quickly made an exchange with the yarn-belt from his waist, for a net made of kangaroo hair. The musquets were kept at hand in the boat, to be prepared against any treachery; but, every thing seeming to go on well, the natives

appearing rather shy than otherwise, Mr. Flinders joined his companion, taking his gun with him. By making friendly signs, laying down the gun, and offering them a woollen cap, he was suffered to approach, and one took the cap; but when Mr. Flinders made signs that he expected to have his net-bag in return, he gave him to understand that he must first give him his hat. This hat was made of the white filaments of the cabbage-tree, and seemed to excite the attention and wishes of the whole party.

As the hat was not given to him, he came forward, first throwing the cap that he had received upon the bank behind him, to secure it, and seemed very anxious for either the hat or gun, or both. Every thing, however, was carried on very amicably; and Mr. Flinders, with his native, retreated slowly toward the boat; but turned again, upon finding that they pressed close after them. One of them, then, laughing, and talking at the same time to Mr. Flinders, attempted to take the hat off his head with a long hooked stick; which, on his discovering, created a laugh. Behind him another was stretching out a long arm to the same object, but was fearful of coming near enough to reach it.

On our people getting into the boat, and shoving her off into deep water, they did not seem pleased, but tried to persuade them to land again. Finding that they could not succeed, one of them threw his piece of fire-wood at them; but it falling short, the matter was treated as a joke, and laughed at. On this another ran into the water, and threw his also; but it likewise fell short: he then took the hooked stick, and slipping off the hook, which, it seems, was only lashed or tied on, produced a spear, with which he ran up to the middle in water, and threw at them by hand. It passed over the centre of the boat, about a foot and a half above the gunwale, but touched no one. After this impudent and provoked attack, Mr. Flinders snapped his gun at the man who had thrown the spear; but the flint having received somewhat wet it missed fire. He tried again; the gun again missed fire.

While this was transacting, the major part of the natives were observing Mr. Flinders's motions with much unconcern. On a third trial the gun went off. The man in the water fell flat, as did every individual among them; but those on the shore ran off almost instantaneously, and scrambled away toward the bank, some upright, and some upon their hands and feet. One of the people in the boat then fired among them, and they fell again upon their faces; but very soon rose and fled behind the bank into the wood. Even the man in the water rose and made off, but so slowly, stooping very much, and holding one hand to his back, that it was concluded he had been wounded; and he looked every now and then over his shoulder, as if expecting to see the spear that he supposed might be sticking in his back. According to Bongree's account, another native had his arm broken by the second shot.

As this wanton attack had unfortunately obliged the party to fire upon these people, in order to maintain that superiority which they meant upon all occasions to assert, Mr. Flinders thought it might be the means of preventing much future mischief, to give them a more extensive idea of his power, and thereby deter them from any future attempt in his intercourse with them. For as this bay was to be examined, and the leak which the sloop had sprung was to be stopped there, it became more than probable that they would often meet; and he was well satisfied of the great influence which the awe of a superior power has in savages to create respect, and render their communications friendly.

In this view, with two musquet balls in his gun, he fired at a man who was looking at them from among the trees. One of these balls touched the edge of the bank in a right line for him; the other passed over. They afterwards landed, intending to bring away the nets, which it was supposed they had in their flight and alarm forgotten. On going upon the bank, previously to ascertain the position of the enemy, he saw several of them running different ways among the trees,

apparently with a design of coming round upon them; and, not knowing their force or numbers, Mr. Flinders disarmed the native and a man who had also landed to return to the boat; but Boag-ree thought that they were running to conceal themselves. They had not left their nets.

From the low sandy point where this affair happened, and which obtained the name of Point Skirmish, they proceeded up the opening, which proved to be the river leading to the Glass-House peaks. These peaks stood upon the low flat ground, considerably within the mountains, and, as far as could be judged, had every appearance of being volcanic. That they were so, indeed, was in some measure corroborated by the quantity of pumice-stone which was lying at high-water mark upon the eastern shore of the river, on which Mr. Flinders had landed to mark the nature and appearance of the country, not being able, from the strength of the ebb-tide, to proceed far in his boat.

Five or six huts, from twelve to fifteen feet in length, were seen standing near each other. They resembled a covered arch-way, rounded at the far end. In one of them was found a small and very light shield, and in another an old net, which had a bag to it, and was knotted and made in the same way as it would have been if made by an European scive-maker. It appeared to be intended for a scoop-net. There were marks of a large kangaroo having passed, and many traces of dogs were visible on the beach.

Mr. Flinders, on his return to the sloop, was informed that the leak had been found to have been occasioned by the starting of a plank from the timber, about three or four streaks from the keel. It had been filled up with oakum, since which she made but little water, lying at anchor.

From the situation in which the sloop lay, the bay had not any appearance of closing round, but seemed to promise a large river at its head, and a communication with Moreton Bay, if not something more interesting.

At three in the afternoon they got under weigh to proceed up this river, standing to the southward until dark, at which time they anchored, about three miles from the western shore, in five fathoms, on a soft muddy bottom; whereas the ground before had always been sandy.

At day-light in the morning of Wednesday the 17th, the sloop was got under weigh, and anchored about half past ten o'clock, a mile and a half from a point with red cliffs. A little to the westward of Red Cliff Point, Mr. Flinders found the latitude to be 27 deg. 16 min. 25 sec. south. The rocks here were of stone, strongly impregnated with iron, having some small pieces of granite and crystal scattered about the shore. On the following morning they passed two islands, and afterwards two smaller, one of which was covered with wood. Another island, apparently larger than either of the four above mentioned, appeared at the distance of about five miles. reckoning the northernmost of these four islands to be the first in number, they made their course good for the third island, after tacking; and the water deepened almost immediately to six fathoms.

At this time their attention was much attracted by a party of natives from these islands, who appeared to be standing up in their canoes, and pulling toward them with all their strength, and in very regular order. They seemed to have long poles or spears in their hands, with which also they appeared to be paddling; the whole of them shifting their hands at the same instant, after the manner of the South-sea islanders. As about twenty of them were counted, and seemed to be coming on with much resolution, our people prepared for whatever might be the event. The sloop was put under easy sail, her decks cleared of every incumbrance, and each man was provided with a competent number of musket-balls, pistol-balls, and buck-shot, which were to be used as the distance might require; for it was intended that not a man should escape if they commenced an attack.

Thus prepared, they bore toward them, finding that with all their exertions they did not approach much nearer to the vessel. But, how great was their surprise on discovering, that, instead of advancing in canoes to attack them, they were standing upon a large flat, that surrounded the third island, driving fish into their nets, and that they had but two canoes among them! They were standing in a line, splashing in the water with long sticks, first for some time on one side, and then all shifting to splash on the other. Thus this hostile array turned out to be a few peaceful fishermen: peaceable indeed; for on the approach of the vessel they sunk their canoes upon the flat, and retreated to the island, where they made their fires.

The flood-tide having ceased to run, they anchored at noon, and by the sun's meridional altitude, in 27 deg. 27 min. 16 sec. south latitude. The third island, on which the natives were; bore W. 4 deg. S. one and a half or two miles distant, and the centers of the two northern ones N. 40 deg. and N. 15 deg. W. The entrance from Moreton Bay bearing N. 68 deg. E. from this anchorage, corroborated its latitude by the observation of the 14th, which was taken on the sea side of it, although it differed considerably from that given by Captain Cook.

On the sloop standing near the south part of the shoal that appeared to surround the island to which the natives had retired, one of them came down abreast of the vessel, making the same gestures; and running backwards and forwards, as others had done before; but little attention was paid to him, Mr. Flinders being more intent on getting as far up the bay as possible while the tide favoured him.

Early the next morning (Sunday the 21st), Mr. Flinders went in his boat to examine Pumice Stone river, and the entrance into it. On approaching Point Skirmish, five or six natives came down to the boat unarmed, and, by friendly gestures and offers of their girdles and small nets, endeavoured to persuade him to land. He could not satisfy himself

whether they had any treacherous design in this, or whether their presenting themselves unarmed proceeded from any confidence which they might have felt, that neither himself nor his people would hurt them if they were not the aggressors. In this point of view the offer of their girdles and nets might have been meant as an atonement for their former conduct; he did not, however, choose to trust them, but proceeded to examine the river.

When they had nearly reached the end of their excursion, two natives came down to the beach, and seemed desirous for them to land. There being a dry sand at a sufficient distance to be out of the reach of spears, they put ashore upon it. On Mr. Flinders taking up his gun to fire at two red-bills, the natives ran into the woods; but on Bong-ree's advancing that way they returned, and he made a friendly exchange for their hair fillets and belts, giving them a white woollen cap in return, and came to the boat for a piece of white cloth and some biscuit for them. During this time Mr. Flinders was on shore upon the sand bank with a gun, to cover him in case their behaviour should be unfriendly. On his advancing toward them, they were very vociferous for him to remain at a distance, and would on no account admit of his approaching without laying down his gun. This place was about six miles from Point Skirmish; but it was evident that the fame and dread of their fire-arms had reached thus far, and were most probably increased by the shooting of the swans, which they must have witnessed.

In their return down the river, they were called to by a man on the west side, who had a spear in his hand; but two women and several children being behind argued rather against any premeditated hostility. The women and children retired on their approaching the shore; but they were observed to be peeping at them from behind the bushes. This man made great exclamations for the musket to be laid down, calling out "woo-rah, woo-rah," as others had done, and seemed pleased when it was complied with; but he could

not have heard many particulars of their weapons; for, on pointing a musquet toward him to try the experiment, he did not appear to be sensible of the danger to himself in that case. As he did not choose to quit his spear, and the sun was descending, they did not land, but backed in near enough to throw him a yarn stocking, which they shewed him was to be worn as a cap with a tail to it, and then parted good friends.

Monday the 22d was passed in getting the sloop into the river, which with some difficulty was accomplished, having to find out a channel through an infinity of shoals. Having completely stopped the leak in his vessel and re-stowed her, he lost no time in prosecuting his intended excursion to the Glass-House Peaks. Previous to their departure, three natives made their appearance upon the beach, a short distance below the vessel, and unarmed as before. Bong-ree went up to them in his usual undaunted manner; but they would not suffer Mr. Flinders or any of his party to approach them, without first laying down their muskets. Presents were made them of yarn caps, pork, and biscuit, all of which they eagerly took, and made signs for Bong-ree to go with them, and they would give him girdles and fillets, to bind round his head and the upper parts of his arms. So long as their visitors consisted only of two, the natives were lively, dancing and singing in concert in a very pleasing manner; but the number of white men having imperceptibly increased to eight, they became alarmed and suspicious, seeming to look with a jealous eye upon a shot-belt that Mr. Flinders wore, and which, though they did not rightly know how, might some way or other be a deadly weapon.

Observing this, he gave it to one of the people to take away. Three of the sailors, who were Scotchmen, were desired to dance a reel; but, for want of music, they made a very bad performance, which was contemplated by the natives without much amusement or curiosity. Finding that they could not be persuaded to visit the sloop, our people parted from them in a very friendly manner.

On the 25th they turned two or three miles further up the river, and anchored near the place on the western shore, where the man who had a family with him had called to them: at this time they saw a fire, and heard several younger female voices in the same place.

On the following morning Mr. Flinders took the boat up a branch that pointed towards the Peaks, and got a sight of the flat-topped peak at times, which, appearing to be considerably nearer than the highest Glass-House, was that which he meant first to visit; but, observing that one of the round mounts with sloping sides was still nearer, he altered his course for it; and, after walking about nine miles from the boat, reached the top. The mount was a pile of stones of all sizes, mostly loose near the surface. The decayed vegetable matter that was lodged in the cavities produced a thick covering of long, but rather spindly grass, very fit for thatch from its length. The ascent was difficult, and similar to that up Mount Direction, which stands on the east bank of the Derwent river in Van Dieman's Land. The trees upon the mount were the same as on the level ground, but taller and more straight.

From the summit of this mount, the view of the Bay and neighbouring country was very extensive. The uppermost part of the bay appeared at S. 24 deg. E. and most probably communicated with a line of water which was visible at S. 12 deg. E. where there were several distinct columns of smoke. This last bearing, which Mr. Flinders apprehended to be near the head of the river, he was not permitted to enter with the sloop, from the intricacy of the channel, and the shortness of the time which remained for his excursion.

At seven the next morning they found themselves under the steep cliffs of the flat-topped peak. The stone of which this was composed was of a whitish cast, close-grained and hard, but not heavy. It was not stratified, but there were many fissures in it. At a little distance from the peak there

were some pieces of a reddish-coloured stone and some small pieces of granite scattered about.

Mr. Flinders was somewhat surprised at not meeting with any volcanic appearances, as the pumice stone in the river, and the situation of those stupendous peaks, standing upon low flat ground, had led him to form some anxious expectations on that head. But it must be observed, that, although he could not distinguish any traces of scoria, lava, basaltes, or other igneous remains, yet they might still exist, more especially about the high Glass-House, which he did not visit.

As the steepness of its sides forbade all idea of reaching the summit of the flat-topped peak, he directed his course to the river. The traces of men or animals were but very few, and had been but rarely met with in the upper parts of this excursion; and no where did he meet with any land that was calculated for the production of wheat.

Having reached the sloop in the evening, the following morning they got under weigh. There were many natives on the shore abreast of them, who seemed particularly anxious to be visited, dancing and singing to attract attention, and express their own good-will; and, when they could not prevail upon our people to land, they followed the sloop along the banks, their hopes seeming to revive by the trips which in tacking they occasionally made towards the shore.

Not being able to get out of the river in one tide, they anchored about a mile short of the entrance, to cut some fire-wood. There was a house and several natives near the place, with whom Bong-ree was in conversation when the tree fell; the crash and report of which startled them a good deal, and might probably assist in giving them a higher idea of the power of their visitors. These people were still very averse from the appearance or approach of a musquet, keeping a watchful eye upon their slightest movement.

The gallant and unsuspecting native, Bong-ree, made them a present of one of his spears, and a throwing-stick, of which he shewed them the use, for they appeared to be wholly igno-

rant of the latter ; and their weapons of the former kind were inferior to his.

Very bad weather detained Mr. Flinders here for two days, during which they were occasionally visited by the natives, who came down upon both sides of the river, and entertained them with singing and dancing. Not a spear was at any time to be seen among them.

A party who went to the eastern shore to procure fire-wood, and to comply with the desire which the natives had so often expressed of seeing them land among them, found them still timorous ; but, on being encouraged and requested by signs to sing, they began a song in concert, which actually was musical and pleasing, and not merely in the diatonic scale, descending by thirds, as at Port Jackson: the descent of this was waving, in rather a melancholy soothing strain. The song of Bong-ree, which he gave them at the conclusion of theirs, sounded barbarous and grating to the ear ; but Bong-ree was an indifferent songster, even among his own countrymen. These people, like the natives of Port Jackson, having fallen to the low pitch of their voices, recommenced their song at the octave, which was accompanied by slow and not ungraceful motions of the body and limbs, their hands being held up in a supplicating posture ; and the tone and manner of their song and gestures seemed to speak the good-will and forbearance of their auditors. Observing that they were attentively listened to, they each selected one of our people, and placed his mouth close to his ear, as if to produce a greater effect, or, it might be, to teach them the song, which their silent attention might seem to express a desire to learn. As a recompence for the amusement they had afforded, Mr. Flinders gave them some worsted caps, and a pair of blanket trowsers, with which they seemed well pleased. Several other natives now made their appearance ; and it was some time before they could overcome their dread of approaching the strangers with their fire-arms ; but, encouraged by the three who were with them, they came up, and a general song

and dance was commenced. Their singing was not confined to one air ; they gave three.

Of those who last came, three were remarkable for the largeness of their heads ; and one, whose face was very rough, had much more the appearance of a baboon than of a human being. He was covered with oily soot ; his hair matted with filth ; his visage, even among his fellows, uncommonly ferocious ; and his very large mouth, beset with teeth of every hue between black, white, green, and yellow, sometimes presented a smile which might make any one shudder.

When these people joined the party, the strangers were shown, and their names severally told to them, until they had gotten the pronunciation. This ceremony was reciprocal, and accorded with what Captain Cook had said before of an inhabitant of Endeavour River. " He introduced the strangers by name, a ceremony which upon such occasions was never omitted." The difference of latitude between these two places is 11 deg. 39 min. or seven hundred miles.

With regard to the comparative size of these people, they were evidently somewhat lower than the common standard of Englishmen, and perhaps smaller in every respect, except in the disproportionate size of the head ; and indeed this was not general. In the features of the face, particularly in the elongation of the lower ones, in the small calf to the leg, and the curve of the thigh, they bore a general resemblance to the natives of Port Jackson.

A hawk presenting himself, Mr. Flinders thought it a good opportunity of shewing his new friends a specimen of the effect and certainty of his fire-arms. He made them comprehend what was intended, when their agitation was so great that they seemed on the point of running into the woods : however, an expedient to detain them was devised ; the seamen placed them in a cluster behind themselves, and in this situation they anxiously saw Mr. Flinders fire at the bird. What must have been his sensations at this moment ! the hawk flew away. This disappointment brought to his recol-

lection how ineffectual had been some former attempts of his to impress them with an idea of the superior refinement of his followers. Bong-ree, his musician, had annoyed his auditors with his barbarous sounds; and the clumsy exhibition of his Scotch dancers had been viewed by them without wonder or gratification.

It is almost unnecessary to say that these people go naked. They, however, wore belts round the waist, and fillets about the head and upper parts of the arms. These were formed of hair, twisted into yarn-like threads, and then into bandages, mostly reticulated. Indeed, the inhabitants of this bay appeared to possess, in general, a very pointed difference from, if not a superiority over, those of New South Wales, particularly in their net-works. There was no doubt but they were provided with nets for catching very large fish, or animals; as the fragments of one were picked up, the meshes of which were wide enough to admit the escape of a moderate-sized porpoise; and the line of which it was made was from three quarters to an inch in circumference.

Mr. Flinders was of opinion, that this mode of procuring their food would cause a characteristic difference between the manners, and perhaps the dispositions of these people, and of those who mostly depend upon the spear or fizgig for a supply. In the one case, there must necessarily be the co-operation of two or more individuals, who therefore, from mutual necessity, would associate together. It is fair to suppose, that this association would, in the course of a few generations, if not much sooner, produce a favourable change in the manners and dispositions even of a savage. In the other case, the native who depends upon his fizgig or his spear for his support, depends upon his single arm, and, requiring not the aid of society, is indifferent about it, but prowls along, a gloomy, unsettled, and unsocial being. An inhabitant of Port Jackson is seldom seen, even in the populous town of Sydney, without his spear, his throwing-stick, or his club. His spear is his defence against enemies. It is the weapon which he uses to

punish aggression and revenge insult. It is even the instrument with which he corrects his wife in the last extreme ; for in their passion, or perhaps oftener in a fit of jealousy, they scruple not to inflict death. It is the play-thing of children, and in the hands of persons of all ages. It is easy to perceive what effect this must have upon their minds. They become familiarised to wounds, blood, and death ; and, repeatedly involved in skirmishes and dangers, the native fears not death in his own person, and is consequently careless of inflicting it on others.

The net also appearing to be a more certain source of food than the spear, change of place will be less necessary. The incumbrance too of carrying large nets from one place to another will require a more permanent residence ; and hence it would naturally follow, that their houses would be of a better construction. Those which had been met with in Shoal Bay and Glass-House Bay were certainly far superior to any that had been seen in the neighbourhood of Port Jackson ; and this superiority Mr. Flinders attributed to the different mode of procuring fish which had been adopted by the inhabitants. During the time the sloop remained in Glass-House Bay they scarcely saw any of the women.

Of their canoes but little could be reported, the only one that Mr. Flinders had an opportunity of observing was formed of the stringy bark, and was much larger than any used at Port Jackson. The ends of it were tied up in the same manner ; but it was mis-shapen and clumsy. Not any of the natives ever attempted to approach the sloop in canoes, although at times eight or ten were seen standing together, who appeared very desirous of having a communication with it.

On Wednesday the 31st, they got under weigh with the weather tide, and beat out of the river. Having passed fifteen days in Glass-House Bay, Mr. Flinders was enabled to form his judgment of it. It was so full of shoals, that he could not attempt to point out any passage that would lead a ship into it without danger. The east side of the Bay had

not been sounded; if any existed, it would probably be found on that side.

Mr. Flinders's next place of destination was Hervey's Bay, which he reached in two days, and where he remained till the 7th; during which time he had sailed round the interior of it, but without being able to enter any opening that might have led him to a river.

Having cleared the point of Break-sea Spit, on Thursday the 18th he proceeded on his return to Port Jackson. Passing the land between Smoky Cape and the Solitary Isles in the day, which had before been passed in the night, he observed that it seemed to be higher than most parts of its coast in the neighbourhood, Mount Warning excepted; and even there it was not so high near the shore. The view that Mr. Flinders had of the land at sun-set, when Smoky Cape bore S. 25 deg. W. distant five or six leagues, induced him to think it probable that there might be an opening to the northward of it. In the afternoon of the 18th, there being but little wind, and the weather fine, they were attended by several very large spermaceti whales. These were not more than twice the sloop's length from her, coming upon either side, at times very near her, and remained playing, or perhaps feeding in this way, for more than two hours.

Their appearance was followed in the evening by a gale from the S. W. which reduced them to their storm sails, and compelled them to keep off and on during the night. The wind, however, moderating the next day, Mr. Flinders concluded his labours at dusk in the evening of the 20th; at which time he secured his little vessel along-side his Majesty's ship the *Reliance* in Port Jackson.

We must here take leave of Captain Flinders, whose skill in exploring unknown coasts and harbours, so amply manifested in this excursion, creates an additional interest in the success of his future undertakings.

CHAP. XXXII.

Proceedings in the Colony—The Governor makes an Excursion across the Nepean—Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson arrives from England—Storm—Spanish Prize arrives—A Criminal Court held—Parramatta Gaol burnt—More Convicts arrive from Ireland—Natives murdered—Remarks on some Irish Convicts—Eagle shot—Lieutenant-Governor King arrives from England—Project relative to Indian Convicts—Five men executed—Death of Wilson—Volunteer Corps formed—The Governor quits the Settlement.

THE convicts brought out by the Hillsborough being mostly recovered from the disease and weakness with which they landed, some additional strength was gained to the public gangs; and the different works in hand went on with more spirit than they had done for some time past. In addition to the battery which, under the direction of Lieutenant Kent, had been constructed by the seamen of the Supply on the east point of the cove, the work on Point Maskelyne had been raised and completed with embrasures. Some guns were placed in a commanding situation above the wind-mill on the west side; and a work had been erected upon Garden Island; so that, in point of defence, the settlement wore a respectable appearance. The weather had for some time been moderate and temperate.

On the 24th of September the Governor set off on a visit to the wild cattle. Leaving Parramatta on the 24th, he crossed the Nepean the following day, but much further to the northward than he had done before. In this direction he and his party traversed a new tract of country, which was not only beautiful to the eye but highly calculated for cultivation and pasturage.

On their arrival at the Cow-pasture Plains, they fell in with a herd of the cattle, about twenty in number, and so extremely fierce, that, had it not been for the dogs which were with them, they would probably have been attacked. Some

natives, who had accompanied the Governor, were so alarmed, that they availed themselves of their expertness in climbing trees, and left their friends to provide for their own safety how they could. These dogs having been hunted at the cattle, much against the Governor's wish, by some of the party (who did it, as not thinking their situation perfectly safe), the animals were dismayed at the unusual appearance, and went off; but a bull calf, about six weeks old, was detained by the dogs. Him the Governor directed to be let instantly loose; but here a strange circumstance occurred. There were three horses with the party, and the calf would not quit them; but running between their legs, cried out for the flock, which, from his bellowing, there was reason to apprehend would return, to the great danger of the party. One of the gentlemen was therefore obliged to stop his cries by shooting him through the head; and the whole regaled upon veal, a rare dish in that country.

On quitting the Cow-pasture Plains, the party crossed the river again, higher up than they had formerly done; and were led for about four miles over a mountainous country, but adapted either for tillage or pasture. They then crossed a fine tract of level land, rich in the most luxuriant grass, and uncommonly well watered, chains of ponds being found every two or three miles.

On the 2d of November, His Majesty's ship the *Reliance* sailed with the relief of the military on duty at Norfolk Island; and on the following day the ship *Walker* arrived from England. On board her came Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, and Captain Abbot of the New South Wales corps.

Dispatches were at this time received; whereby the Governor being directed to cause a register to be kept of all ships entering inwards and clearing outwards of the harbour, he appointed Richard Atkins, Esq. to that service; and it became an article in the port orders which were delivered to the masters of ships upon their arrival, that they were not upon any account to break bulk, or attempt to land any article

whatever, until an account of the ship, her commander, and cargo had been laid before the Governor. It was at the same time signified, that no boat, or any person whomsoever, except the pilot, such officer as might be sent by the Governor, and the person appointed to fill up the register, should ever board strange ships entering the port, until the above information had been regularly and fully obtained. It was conjectured, that this measure of registering ships was preparatory to the establishment of duties and a custom-house.

By the Walker four iron twelve-pounders were received, and information that copper coin to the amount of 550*l.* was in the Porpoise, whose arrival might be daily looked for. This would certainly have been a most comfortable accommodation to the people in their various dealings with each other; as it might have been marked, to prevent its being taken out of the colony. If it should ever be found convenient by Government to order a silver coinage for the use of the settlement, if it was fixed at not more than half or two thirds of the intrinsic value of what it might pass for, so as to render the loss considerable to any one attempting to carry it away, it would be felt as a considerable advantage, and would effectually prevent the forgeries to which a paper currency is liable.

The wheat crops in this month, nearly ready for the reaper, wore the most promising appearance; the stalks every where, particularly at the Hawkesbury, bending beneath the weight of the richest ears of corn ever beheld in any country. But, like other countries, a crop was never to be reckoned in this, until it was gathered into the barn. About the middle of the month there fell a very heavy storm of rain and hail from the S. E. that beat all the fruit off the trees, and destroyed the gardens in and about Sydney, doing much damage to the wheat, particularly at the Hawkesbury, where it likewise beat down one end of the public store. This destructive weather, having subsided for a day, recommenced and continued to rage, attended with tremendous peals of thunder and flashes

of lightning, for the space of five days without intermission, when it again cleared up; and to increase the vexation, myriads of caterpillars were found destroying the young maize.

That it might be exactly known what was the produce of this year's harvest, proper people were appointed, by order of the Governor, to visit each district; and, from the respective owners, to collect an account of what each farm had produced.

The settlers being dissatisfied with a reduction in the price of grain which had been ordered, presented petitions to the Governor, in which they stated the various hardships that for a considerable time past they had laboured under, in the hope that he might be induced to receive the crops of the present season at the usual price. Having taken their petitions into consideration, he desired them to recollect, that four years since he had given them notice, that the high price of grain could not be continued longer than that season; and though he had not any doubt of their having sustained the losses which they represented, they must be sensible that he had used every means in his power to remove and relieve their misfortunes; yet his duty to Government compelled him to adhere to the reduction of which they complained. At the same time, he could not avoid observing, that some of these misfortunes had, in many instances, proceeded from a want of that attention to their own interest, which every man possessing common discretion would have shewn; many of them having parted with their last bushel for the gratification of the moment, thereby reducing their families to distress.

He likewise informed them, that Government had a serious intention, as early as the public concerns of the nation would admit, of administering every possible relief, by supplying the inhabitants, at a moderate price, with such necessaries and comforts as they might require.

In the course of December, a Spanish ship anchored in the cove. She was a prize to three whalers, who had taken her near Cape Corientes, on the coast of Peru. Her cargo consisted chiefly of bad spirits and wine; which, on her being

condemned as a lawful prize, were removed to the Supply, and an order was given out, strictly forbidding the landing of any spirits, wine, or even malt liquor, until a regular permit had been first obtained.

At length the commissary was enabled to issue some slop clothing to the convicts, a quantity having been received by the Walker; but, unfortunately, much of what had been put on board arrived in a very damaged state.

The court of criminal judicature was assembled on the 16th, when a convict was found guilty of forgery, and received sentence of death; but as this had been determined by the majority of one voice only, whereas the letters patent for establishing the court expressly say, that five of the members are to concur in a capital case, this business was, as provided by the patent, to be referred to the King in council. It was hoped that this circumstance would but seldom occur; as the object of it must, during the reference, remain a prisoner, with all the miserable sensations that a person would experience under sentence of death. The time that he must linger in this unfortunate situation could not be well less than fifteen or eighteen months; and admitting that the length of it might deaden the acuteness of his first sensations, and diminish his fears as to the event, yet how would the horror of his situation be aggravated, should, unhappily for him, the sentence be at last confirmed by the royal approbation!

At this time a second gaol was destroyed by fire. It was the log-gaol at Parramatta. The prisoners confined in it were with difficulty snatched from the flames: but so miserably scorched, that one of them expired after having lingered a few days. No doubt remaining of this being the work of villainy, a large reward was offered for the detection of the unfeeling and depraved perpetrator of so truly diabolical an act, and which had been a second time committed in the same settlement: a circumstance that even staggers credulity. What interest, what motive could impel them to so wicked, and at the same time so useless a proceeding? The destruc-

tion of the building, they must conclude, would be instantly followed by the erection of another, at which they themselves must labour ! Could it be for the purpose of throwing obstacles in the way of Government ? that Government, which had ever been mild and not coercive ; which had ever stood forward to alleviate their miseries, and often extended the arm of mercy, when their crimes called aloud for that of punishment ; and yet on no other principle can it be accounted for. May the annalist whose business it may be to record in future the transactions of this colony find a pleasanter field to travel in, where his steps will not be every moment beset with murderers, robbers, and incendiaries !

The year 1800 commenced with the arrival of the *Swallow*, East-Indian Packet, on her voyage to China. She brought information of the capture of the Dutch fleet in the *Texel*, and the surrender of the forts upon the *Helder*. This intelligence was announced to the settlement in a public order, and by a discharge of the cannon on the batteries.

In addition to this welcome news, she had on board a great variety of articles for sale, which were intended for the China market ; but the master found it worth his while to gratify the inhabitants, particularly the females, with a display of many elegant articles of dress from *Bond-street*, and other fashionable repositories of the metropolis. After remaining three weeks she departed for China. Previous to her sailing, the *Minerva* transport arrived from Ireland, with a very different cargo : instead of elegances from *Bond-street*, she brought 162 male and 26 female convicts from the gaols of that kingdom ; all of whom were in perfect health, their treatment and management on board doing the highest credit to those who were concerned in the care of them. This vessel, having touched at *Rio de Janeiro*, had brought many needful articles for sale, as well from that port as from *England* ; but the prices required for them were such as to drain the colony of every shilling that could be scraped together.

With the *Minerva* came the *Fhynne*, from Bengal ; which had been chartered by the officers of the colony, through the means of an agent. She was freighted on their account with many articles ; among which, as more labour could be obtained for spirits than for any other mode of payment, so essential a commodity had not been omitted.

The criminal court about this time was called upon to take cognizance of the murder of two native boys. The business, as it appeared upon the trial, was this :—The natives having, some short time before, murdered two men who possessed farms at the Hawkesbury, some of the settlers in that district determined to revenge their death. There were at this time three native boys living with one Powell, a settler, and two others his neighbours. These unoffending lads they selected as the objects of their revenge. Having informed them, that they thought they could find the guns belonging to the white men, they were dispatched for that purpose, and in a short time brought them in. Powell and his associates now began their work of vengeance. They drove the boys into a barn ; where, after tying their hands behind their backs, these cowardly miscreants repeatedly stabbed them, until two of them fell and died beneath their hands. The third, making his escape, jumped into the river, and, although in swimming he could only make use of his feet, yet under this disadvantage, and with the savage murderers of his companions firing at him repeatedly, he actually reached the opposite bank alive, and soon joined his own people.

The Governor, on being made acquainted with this circumstance, immediately sent to the place, where, buried in a garden, the bodies of these unfortunate boys were found, stabbed in several places, with their hands tied, as has been described. Powell and his companions in this horrid act were taken into custody ; and, a court being convened, they were tried for the murder ; when the court were unanimously of opinion, that they were “ guilty of killing two natives ;” but instead of their receiving a sentence of death, a special

reference was made to his Majesty's minister, and the prisoners were admitted to bail by the court. These, in their defence, brought forward a crowd of witnesses to prove that a number of white people had at various times been killed by the natives; but could these people have been sufficiently understood, proofs would not have been wanting, on their side, of the wanton and barbarous manner in which many of them had been destroyed.

Entertaining doubts as to the light in which the natives were to be held, the court applied to the Governor for such information as he could furnish upon this subject; and he accordingly sent them the orders which from time to time had been given respecting these people, and a copy of an article in his Majesty's instructions to the Governor, which in strong and expressive terms places them under the protection of the British Government, and directs, that if any of his subjects should wantonly destroy them, or give them unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, they might be brought to punishment, according to the degree and nature of their offence.

In this instance, however, the court were divided in their sentiments respecting the nature of the offence, and submitted the whole business, with their doubts, to his Majesty's minister. As they could not see their way distinctly, they certainly were right to apply for assistance; but, as it was impossible to explain to the natives, or cause them to comprehend the nature of these doubts, it was to be expected that they would ill brook the return of the prisoners to their farms and occupations, without having received some punishment; a circumstance wholly inconsistent with their own ideas, and entirely at variance with their customs; and, indeed they loudly threatened to burn the crops as soon as it could be effected. Fire, in the hands of a body of irritated and hostile natives, might, with but little trouble to them, ruin the prospect of an abundant harvest; and it appeared by the threat, that they were not ignorant of having this power in their

hands ; it was, therefore, certainly very essential to the comfort and security of the settlers in particular, that they should live with them upon amicable terms.

There not being at this time more than five months' provision in the store at full allowance, it became necessary to issue only two-thirds of the weekly ration.

About this time a proof was given of the power of the female sex over their ideal superiors. A quiet well-disposed young man, a soldier in the New South Wales corps, fell a victim to an attachment which he had formed with an infamous woman, a convict, who, after plundering, deserted him for another. The ill-fated youth unable to support what he termed a calamity, placed the muzzle of his gun beneath his chin, and, pulling the trigger with his foot, in one instant rushed into eternity.

On the 13th, the *Betsey* whaler arrived from the west coast of America, with 350 barrels of oil. At the same time came the Hunter bark from Calcutta, with a cargo on speculation ; and also a Spanish brig which had been captured by the whaler.

On the 16th, the *Friendship* transport arrived from Ireland with convicts, who came in good health ; notwithstanding which, they were not calculated to be of much advantage to the settlement ; but little addition being gained by their arrival to the public strength. Several of them had been bred up in the habits of genteel life, or to professions in which they were unaccustomed to hard labour : such must become a dead weight upon the provision store ; for, notwithstanding the intention of the sentence they had received, yet it was impossible to divest the mind of the common feelings of humanity, so far as to send a physician, the once respectable sheriff of a county, a Roman Catholic priest, or a protestant clergyman and his family, to the grubbing hoe, or the timber-carriage. Among the lower classes were many old men.

Several of the settlers declining to pay any thing towards the building of the new gaol, a tax of one shilling per gallon on whatever spirits each individual might purchase, sixpence on wine, and threepence upon porter or strong beer, was imposed, to be applied to the above purpose.

About this time a bird was taken near Broken Bay, of a species never seen before in New South Wales. It was a large Eagle, which gave proof of his strength, by driving his talons through a man's foot, while lying in the bottom of the boat with his legs tied together. It stood about three feet in height, and during the ten days that it was a prisoner, was remarkable for refusing to be fed by any but one particular person. Among the natives it was an object of wonder and fear, and they could never be prevailed upon to go near it. They asserted, that it would carry off a middling-sized kangaroo. It had been intended to be sent to England; but one morning it was found to have divided the strands of a rope with which it was fastened, and escaped.

Accounts of a most alarming nature were received toward the latter end of the month from George's river and the Hawkesbury. The weather had, unfortunately for the maize, now ripe, been uncommonly bad for three weeks, the wind blowing a heavy gale, accompanied with torrents of rain that very soon swelled the river Hawkesbury, and the creeks in George's river beyond their banks; laying all the adjacent flat country, with the corn on it, under water. Much damage, of course, followed the desolation which this ill-timed flood spread over the cultivated grounds; and, although fewer than could have been expected, some lives were lost.

The prospect of an abundant maize harvest was wholly destroyed; and every other work was suspended, to prepare the ground a second time that season for wheat. The settlement was yet too young to be able to endure such a succession of ill-fortune without its being felt, in some degree, an inconvenience and expence to the mother country. Had the settlers themselves in general been of a more industrious

turn, they would have been better prepared for such accidents ; and it was much to be lamented, that, in establishing them on the banks of the Hawkesbury, they had not with more attention considered the manifest signs of the floods to which the river appeared to the first discoverers to be liable, and erected their dwellings upon the higher grounds ; or that the inundations which had lately happened had not occurred at an earlier period, when there were but few settlers. These, indeed, had been such as formerly no one had any conception of, and exceeded in horror and destruction any thing that could have been imagined.

On the first of April a criminal court sat ; when, among the several offenders that were tried, two were condemned to suffer death, but pardoned at the solicitation of the gentlemen of the New South Wales corps. In the hope, however, of impressing the minds of these criminals more deeply, they were kept in ignorance of the intended mercy, till the moment when, but for it, they would have been hurried into eternity. On the pardon being read, one of the men appeared much affected ; but the other declared that he should never be better prepared to die, and scarcely seemed to desire a prolongation of existence.

On the 16th, the Speedy whaler arrived from England, with 50 female convicts ; and, what were much more welcome and profitable, 832 casks of salt provisions, which enabled the Governor once more to issue a full ration. In this ship came Captain Phillip Gidley King, the Lieutenant Governor of Norfolk Island.

On the same day, his Majesty's ship the Buffalo returned from the Cape of Good Hope, having on board 85 cows, and 20 breeding mares for the settlement. This voyage was performed in seven months. She had made her passage thither in three.

Early in May, the Governor having received information from several of the officers, that they had good grounds for suspecting that some of the convicts lately arrived from Ire-

land had not left behind them the principles which occasioned their being sent from that kingdom, but were carrying on seditious correspondences, and holding unlawful meetings; in order to discover whether there was any foundation for this conjecture, he caused the most minute investigation to be made; but nothing was found which could furnish the smallest suspicion of the conduct imputed to them.

About this time some propositions had been made, and a correspondence entered into between the secretary of the Bengal Government and the Gentleman who had been employed as the private agent of the officers of the settlement, respecting the transportation of Indian convicts to New South Wales. As this was a measure, though open to no objection whatever, which must be submitted to administration before it could be adopted, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion was sent home.

It was proposed by the Governor of Bengal, to victual and maintain their convicts for one year after their landing; after which, they were to be supported by the settlement. As such a description of people might be very usefully employed there, and would be far more manageable than the convicts from England or Ireland, it was hoped that the plan might meet the approbation of his Majesty's ministers.

It should seem that some favourable ideas of the settlement had obtained in India; for by the same conveyance three gentlemen of respectability addressed the Governor, stating to him their desire of embarking their families and property, and becoming settlers; but as the terms they proposed would have been attended with a considerable expence to the crown, the Governor, though well aware of the advantages which the colony would derive from having such persons resident among them, found himself compelled to lay their proposals before the Secretary of State.

In the month of May two criminals had suffered death; and June commenced with the execution of three more. If examples of this kind could strike terror into the minds of the

spectators, they certainly had not lately been without these salutary though dreadful lessons.

Governor Hunter having received orders to send the *Buffalo* to England, several gentlemen, who had obtained permission to take their passage in her, disposed of their live stock ; by which a very considerable addition was made to that belonging to the crown.

Early in August, the *Albion* whaler ran into Broken Bay, to complete her wood and water. She had on board 600 barrels of oil ; but had not been able, through bad weather, to secure more than a fourth part of the whales which they had killed. They had seen an immense number of these fish.

Toward the latter end of the month 1016 gallons of spirits, being attempted to be landed without a permit, were seized by the centinel on duty.

Information had been received of the death of a convict of the name of Wilson, several times mentioned in the preceding narrative, and who was better known by that given him by the natives, of Bun-bo-e. This young man had preferred the life of a vagabond, and passed the greater part of his time in the woods with the savages, whom he was suspected of instructing in those points wherein they could injure the settlers with the greatest effect, and most safety to themselves. With the wood natives he had sufficient influence to persuade them that he had once been a black man ; and pointed out a very old woman as his mother, who was weak and credulous enough to acknowledge him as her son. The natives who inhabit the woods are not, by any means, so acute as those who live upon the sea-coast. This difference may, perhaps, be accounted for by their sequestered manner of living, society contributing much to the exercise of the mental faculties. Wilson presumed upon this mental inability ; and, having imposed himself upon them as their countryman, and created a fear and respect for his superior powers, indulged himself in taking liberties with their females. However deficient they might be in reasoning faculties, he found, to his cost,

that they were susceptible of wrongs ; for having appropriated, against her inclinations, a female to his own exclusive accommodation, her friends took an opportunity, when he was not in a condition to defend himself, to drive a spear through his body, which ended his career for that time, and left them to expect his return at some future period in any shape that their fancies might form.

The natives of the coast, whenever speaking of those of the interior, constantly expressed themselves with contempt and marks of disapprobation. Their language was unknown to each other ; and there was not any doubt of their living in a state of mutual distrust and enmity. Those natives, indeed, who frequented the town of Sydney, spoke to those who were not so fortunate, in a very superior tone, valuing themselves upon their friendship with the white people, and erecting in themselves an exclusive right to the enjoyments of all the benefits which were to result from that friendship.

September commenced with a renewal of the alarm respecting seditious conspiracies. A report having been circulated, that the prisoners lately sent from Ireland, for the crime of having being concerned in the late rebellion in that country, had formed a plan for possessing themselves of the colony, that their arms (pikes manufactured since their arrival) were in great forwardness, and their manner of attack nearly arranged ; a committee of officers was appointed by the Governor to examine all suspected persons, and ascertain whether any such murderous design existed. In the course of their inquiries, the committee saw occasion to imprison Harold, the Roman Catholic priest. This man confessed that the reports were founded in truth, and engaged to discover where the weapons were concealed ; of which, he said, many hundreds had been fabricated. In his confession he implicated several of his countrymen, who, on being questioned in their turn, accused several others ; and the committee adjudged them all to be deserving of punishment : but Harold was never able to fulfil his engagement of producing the

weapons; and after much prevarication and trifling, the committee were perfectly convinced that his sole aim, in all he had said, was that of making himself of consequence in the colony, by having it believed that he, as their priest, could alone have influence to make the conspirators speak the truth. Harold had before applied to the Governor for permission to officiate as their priest; and if well affected to the government, of which there were but too many doubts, he might have been of much use to the colony in that capacity.

In consequence of these alarms, and as much as possible to do away their effects, by increasing the armed force of the colony, a number of the most respectable inhabitants were formed into two volunteer associations of fifty men each, and styled the Sydney and Parramatta Loyal Associated Corps. Each was commanded by a Captain, with two lieutenants; and the whole were supplied with arms and ammunition.

The Buffalo being now ready for sea, the Governor, who had determined to return in that ship to England, having arranged various matters relative to the settlement, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island being on the spot, left the direction of the colony in his hands, and embarked on Sunday the 28th, having previously reviewed the New South Wales corps; of whom his Excellency took leave with an address, in which he thanked them for their past laudable conduct, and exhorted them to a continuance of it.

This gentleman's embarkation was attended with every mark of respect, attachment, and regret. The road to the wharf, where the Buffalo's boat was in waiting, was lined on each side with troops; and he was accompanied thither by the officers of the civil and military departments, with a numerous concourse of the inhabitants; who manifested, by their deportment, the sense they entertained of the regard which he had ever paid to their interests, and the justice and humanity of his government.

The following was the state of the live stock, and ground in cultivation, at the time of the Governor's departure, viz.

LIVE STOCK.

Horses	-	-	-	60
Mares	-	-	-	148
Bulls and Oxen	-	-	-	332
Cows	-	-	-	712
Hogs	-	-	-	4017
Male sheep	-	-	-	2031
Female ditto	-	-	-	4093
Male goats	-	-	-	727
Female ditto	-	-	-	1455

LAND IN CULTIVATION.

Acres of wheat	-	-	4665 $\frac{1}{2}$
Acres of maize	-	-	2930
Acres of barley	-	-	82

And a considerable quantity of garden-ground, in potatoes, &c. and vines.

The poverty of the settlers, and the high price of labour, occasioned much land to have been unemployed in that year. Many of the inferior farmers were nearly ruined by the high price that they were obliged to give for such necessaries as they required from those who had been long in the habit of monopolising every article brought to the settlement for sale; a habit, of which it was found impossible to get the better, without the positive and immediate interference of the government at home.

Many representations had been made on this distressing subject; and they seemed in some degree to have been attended to, as in several of the last arrivals from England, certain articles, consisting of implements of husbandry, clothing, and stores, had been consigned to the Governor, to be retailed for the use of the colonists; and it was understood that this system, so beneficial to the settlement, was to be pursued in future.

The Buffalo sailed for England on the 21st of October*, and touched at Norfolk Island. This settlement wore a most unpromising appearance. All the buildings were in a state of rapid decay, and but few symptoms of industry were visible. Of stock, only a few hogs and a small quantity of vegetables were to be procured. A few fields of wheat, which were ready for reaping, looked tolerably well; but on the whole, Norfolk Island by no means promised to repay the expence that it annually cost the government.

* The following is a list of the public works undertaken during Governor Hunter's administration of the affairs of the settlement. He arrived at Port Jackson on the 7th of August, 1795, and sailed on his return on the 21st October, 1800, having governed the colony above five years and two months :—

A large brick building, erected by Governor Phillip, being much decayed, was completely repaired, and an addition of 60 feet made to it, for the purpose of converting it into a granary for the reception of wheat.

A strong wind-mill tower of stone was erected upon the hill above the town of Sydney. The mill completed and set to work.

An entire suite of apartments of brick at Sydney, between the hospitals and the dwelling-house of the principal surgeon, for the use of the two assistant-surgeons.

A strong double-logged gaol, eighty feet long, with separate cells for prisoners, was constructed at Sydney. [This building was burnt.]

A similar gaol was erected at Parramatta, and palcd round with a strong high fence; as was that at Sydney. [This was also destroyed by fire.]

Two granaries, each 100 feet long, were erected at the Hawkesbury and inclosed with paling.

Thoroughly repaired, coated with lime (manufactured from burnt shells), and white-washed, all the public buildings, to preserve them from the decay to which they were rapidly advancing.

Completely repaired the government huts for the reception of convicts, most of which were falling down.

A barn of 90 feet in length was built at Tongabbe, in which nine pair of threshers could work.

Constructed eight embrasures to the battery on Point Maskelyne; raised a redoubt with eight embrasures on the east point of the Cove,

The attention of Governor Hunter to the interests of the settlement was most unremitted; his humanity and condescension rendered him inestimably dear to every bosom, which confessed the influence of grateful feelings; and his cheerful viracity and private worth caused him to stand highly in the estimation of those who were honoured by a participation in his hours of recreative enjoyment. The necessary consequence of his abstracted devotion to the service of the settlement, for a long period, was the obtainment of a thorough knowledge of every subject connected with its welfare; and in the application of that knowledge to the practical improvement of the settlement, no man could have been more happy, none more eminently successful. The moment of his departure was a moment of sorrowful agitation; loved and honoured by all, he was attended by a numerous train of civil and military officers, as well as a long concourse of the grateful inhabitants, who, at this distressing instant, marked in the most unequivocal manner the sense they entertained of his public worth and private benignity.

and mounted them with cannon. Two guns were also mounted on the high part of Garden Island.

Made good the public roads, repaired them at various times, and threw bridges over the gallies.

An excellent framed bridge was built over Duck River.

At Sydney a good granary, 72 feet in length, by 21 in width, with two floors, was built out of the ruins of a mill-house.

Built a framed and weather-boarded house on the green hills at the Hawkesbury, for the residence of the commanding officer of that district.

Erected a second strong wind-mill tower at Sydney, 36 feet in height.

A weather-boarded store-house, with two wings, was built at Sydney; and, on the burning of the church, was converted into a temporary place of worship.

At Parramatta a weather-boarded granary, 140 feet in length, was built.

A complete smith's shop, for forges, was erected at Sydney.

An excellent brick granary, 100 feet long and 22 wide, with three

CHAP. XXXIII.

Governor King assumes the Government of the Settlement—Two Cargoes of Spirits prohibited from being landed—Earthquake—Dreadful inundations of the river Hawkesbury—Forgery—Lightning—The Sydney Gazette instituted—Murders—Attempt to execute a Criminal.

ON the secession of Governor Hunter, the government of the settlement devolved on Governor King, who had arrived from England in the *Speedy*, a few months previous to this time. Soon after his accession to this dignity, a quantity of copper coin was received from England and put into circulation, upon which occasion the following table of specie was

floors, was built at Sydney; to which an addition of 70 feet in length was made for a kiln for drying the grain.

Built a range of barracks at Sydney for three officers.

Erected a handsome church at Parramatta, 100 feet in length and 44 in width, with a room 20 feet long, raised on stone pillars, intended for a vestry or council room.

Began the foundation of a church at Sydney. Built a tower steeple at the same place for a town-clock.

Erected an apartment of brick in the yard of the old gaol for debtors, containing three rooms.

Paled in a naval yard on the west side of the Cove, and erected within it a joiner's and a blacksmith's shop, with sheds for the vessels while repairing, and for the workmen; with a steamer, a store-house, a warder's lodge, and an apartment for the clerk.

A stone house erected for the master boat-builder.

Began and nearly finished a handsome stone gaol at Sydney; with separate apartments for debtors, and six secure cells for condemned felons.

A large and elegant Government-house was erected at Parramatta, the first having gone to decay.

A neat thatched hut in the Government-garden at Parramatta, for the gardener.

Built a new dispensary, and removed the pannelled hospital to a

issued:—A guinea, one pound two shillings; a johannes, four pounds; a half ditto, two pounds; a ducat, nine shillings and sixpence; a gold mohur, one pound seventeen shillings and sixpence; a pagoda, eight shillings; a Spanish dollar, five shillings; a rupee, two shillings and sixpence; a Dutch guilder, two shillings; an English shilling, one shilling and one penny, a copper coin of one ounce, two-pence; a ditto of a quarter of an ounce, a halfpenny. No sum exceeding five pounds, in the copper coin, was to be considered as a legal tender; and the exportation or importation of copper coin above that amount, was prohibited under a penalty of thrice its value.

more convenient situation, raising it upon a stone foundation. At the same time was erected a new hospital store.

Prepared the foundation of a new powder magazine.

Raised a frame, and thatched the roof of an open barn at the Ninety Acres, and laid a threshing-floor,

Fenced and surrounded the military barracks with lofty paling.

Paled in a cooperage adjoining the provision store at Sydney.—Cleansed from filth the public tanks at the same place, and surrounded them and the spring-head with paling.

Enlarged the dwellings of the principal surgeon, the senior assistant surgeon, and the deputy-surveyor.

Built a military hospital and dispensary at Sydney, and an officer's guard-room at the main guard.

Sheds for the boats belonging to Government when hauled on shore.

Repaired a house for a school at Sydney.

Erected houses within the precincts of the hospital at Sydney, for the nurses and attendants while on duty.

Completely repaired the wet provision store at Parramatta.

Inclosed several stock yards for cattle, and repaired the old sheds at the various settlements. In Portland-place district, the timber of 120 acres was cut down, and nearly half (that of 50 acres) burnt off; a small township marked out, and a few huts built.

Raised a variety of inferior buildings. Besides which, many hands were constantly employed in preserving in good condition the various buildings belonging to the crown; to prevent these from going to decay, had been an invariable object of Governor Hunter's attention.

The criminal addiction to the use of spirituous liquors had become so rooted, and was productive of such evil consequences, as to require some vigorous exertion to check its still further increase. In the month of December, 1800, two vessels laden with these destructive cargoes arrived in the harbour; but the governor, with a spirit and prudence creditable to his resolution and judgment, refused them permission to land the poisons, and forced them to quit the settlement before any evil consequences could ensue from their arrival. The variety of afflicting casualties consequent upon the immoderate use of these pernicious fluids, and their introduction of dreadful and fatal disorders, were considerations sufficient to justify the Governor's conduct in this instance, to every rational mind.

On the 17th of January, 1801, the settlement was menaced with destruction by the shock of an earthquake, which was felt severely through the whole colony, but, providentially, produced no injury. A slight concussion had been felt in the month of June, 1788; but never, until this moment, had the alarm been repeated. The affrighted inhabitants rushed out of their houses, in momentary expectation of destruction; nor did they dare to return until the shock had passed by, and the apprehensions which it had produced had entirely subsided.

In the earlier days of the settlement, the settlers on the Hawkesbury, had been much annoyed by the frequent overflowings of that capacious river. In the month of March, 1801, the most severe visitation of this nature had occurred, which had destroyed the promise of an abundant harvest, spread desolation through the farms in that district, destroyed numerous habitations, and caused the loss of several of the unfortunate settlers and others. At the melancholy period alluded to, the colony in this quarter was just reaching a degree of ease and comfort, from the judicious plans put into execution by that "father of the people" Governor Hunter, and the assistance he gave them as an encouragement to in-

dustrious exertion. Scarcely, however, had they begun to revive after this calamity—scarcely had they repaired the ravages occasioned by this tremendous inundation—scarcely had the desolated lands once more confessed the power of cultivation, before those ill-fated settlers were doomed to experience a repetition of the destructive calamity; and on the 2d of March, 1801, the river again overflowed its banks, and rushed impetuously to renew its former devastations. Flocks and herds were swept away by its irresistible influence; the houses, which had been re-built, were once more levelled to the earth; and a settler was deprived of his existence, after witnessing the catastrophe which had robbed him of the whole of his possessions. The waters of the Hawkesbury, at those periods of inundation, would rise seventy or eighty feet above their accustomed level; and it is easy for the mind to picture to itself the inexpressibly mournful consequences which must necessarily accrue from such a circumstance. Neither was this overflowing an event of rare occurrence, but was to be constantly expected after a long continuance of the rainy seasons, when the torrents which rushed from the mountainous ridges which overlooked the channel of the river never failed to produce a rapid swelling of its waters, and to cause an inundation of greater or less extent, and injury more or less destructive to the inhabitants of its vicinity.

Amongst the crimes which existed in the settlement, that of forgery had recently made its appearance, and bills of a counterfeit description had been offered in the markets; and, at length, one of these forged draughts was traced to its source, and the delinquent was immediately apprehended and brought to trial for an offence so heinous in its nature, and so fraught with mischief in its consequences. Sufficient proof being adduced to place the prisoner's guilt beyond doubt, sentence of death was passed upon him, and the execution took place on the 3d of July; it being considered an act of necessary justice to make a severe example of the offender, in this case, in order to check in its infancy the growth of a

practice, pregnant not only with general evil, but with individual ruin. Of all the different species of delinquency which had found their way into the colony, this might be considered as second to none but murder: the house-breaker and the midnight robber might be guarded against, and counteracted or detected immediately, the mischief was at most limited, and might be calculated; but the introduction of a system of forgery threatened more widely-wasting injuries: it required more than common vigilance, more than common perseverance, to discover a fraud of this description; and it was scarcely possible to ascertain the precise extent which it embraced, or to mark the end of its destructive progress. It was therefore, under this impression, considered expedient to make a severe example of the first offender who had been brought to trial, in order, if possible, to deter others from the pursuit of such an iniquitous career. A solitary sacrifice might prove salutary to future thousands.

The storms of thunder and lightning are sometimes particularly terrific, but have seldom been productive of much damage. In some few instances, indeed, individuals had been killed by the electric fires, but these accidents have generally resulted from the too common and dangerous mode of seeking shelter under trees, which attracted and directed the lightning to its object, instead of affording that security which was sought for. A very singular circumstance happened at the close of the spring of 1802, when the *Atlas*, a ship commanded by Mr. Thomas Musgrove, was stricken by a flash on the 5th of November, and, although the bottom of the ship was immediately perforated by the stroke, not a man on board received any material injury: such a singular instance is almost without its parallel. At other periods, the tempestuous gales which have been experienced surpass the conception of those who have never witnessed the boisterous and tumultuous agitation of nature. Hailstones, exceeding six inches in circumference, have frequently fallen with such violence as to destroy the windows of those habitations which

had neglected the adoption of measures of security, the poultry, and lay level with the earth the shrubs and ferns. In fact, storms of this description never fail to occasion the most extensive devastation, and to commit injuries to the settlers, which the labour of months is scarcely sufficient to overcome.

An absurd notion had uniformly existed amongst the convicts that it was possible, by penetrating into the interior, to discover a country, where they might exist without labour, and enjoy sweets hitherto unknown. This ridiculous opinion had induced numbers, since the establishment of the colony, to desert their employment, and to trust themselves in forests which were unknown to them, and where they generally wandered until the means of supporting further fatigue had failed them, and they perished from want—until they became the victims of the natives who fell in with them—or surrendered themselves to the parties who were sent in pursuit of them. Such was commonly the termination of these chimerical expeditions; yet these consequences were unable to expunge the impression alluded to from the minds of these obstinate people, and, in February, 1803, fifteen convicts once again ventured into the woods from Castle Hill, in search of this undiscovered country. Many of these bigotted fugitives were subsequently retaken, after enduring every fatigue and privation which human nature is capable of sustaining; after bearing the complicated hardships of want, weariness, and pain; their feet blistered and bare, their hopes destroyed, their perseverance completely worn out, and their restless dispositions perfectly corrected into submission.

The art of printing had been gradually improving from the period of its establishment, by the judicious care of Governor Hunter, and its advantages became daily more and more obvious. On the 5th of March, "The Sydney Gazette" was instituted by authority, for the more ready communication of events through the various settlements of the colony. The utility and interest of such an establishment were speedily and

universally acknowledged ; and its commencement was soon succeeded by the publication of an almanack, and other works calculated to suit the general taste and increase the general stock of amusement. The general orders were also issued through the medium of the press, and a vigilant eye was kept upon it, to prevent the appearance of any thing which could tend to shake those principles of morality and subordination, on the due preservation of which depended the individual happiness, and the public security of the settlement ; and which could be in no danger of subversion, until the press should become prostituted to base designs—a period much and sincerely to be deprecated by every real friend to the colony.

In the month of August, a most inhuman murder was committed on the body of Joseph Luken, a constable, who, after going off his watch at the government-house, was beset by some villains who still remain undiscovered, and who buried the hilt of his own cutlass very deeply in his head. “ I was ” says Mr. Mann “ the second person at the spot, where the body of the unfortunate man was discovered ; and, in attempting to turn the corpse, my fore-finger penetrated through a hole in the skull, into the brains of the deceased.” Every possible search was made to discover the vile perpetrators of this diabolical act, but to no purpose, the measures of escape had been too well planned to be thwarted. Even the Governor himself attended, and gave directions for the drums to beat to arms ; the military to stop all avenues leading from the town, and different officers to search every house ; but, although several were apprehended, no conviction could be brought home. Soon afterwards, another murder was committed on the body of a man belonging to one of the colonial craft, named Boylan. It appeared that he had been in a part of the town, called “ The Rocks,” and had been struck with some heavy weapon on the head, of which he immediately died. The jury, which was summoned soon after daylight, and continued to sit until nearly one o’clock the next morn-

ing, when two men and a woman were committed for trial ; and a third man, in the progress of the investigation, was sent to gaol for prevarication. When the prisoners were arraigned at the bar, they all pleaded " Not guilty ;" and, after an impartial trial, were acquitted. The singularity and cruelty of this man's murder appeared to be equal to that of Luken.— A third murder was committed, nearly at the same time, by a woman named Salmon, on the body of her own child: It appeared that she wished to conceal her pregnancy ; and, after delivering herself, had thrown the infant down the privy, where it was smothered. Suspicious of her situation having, however, been entertained by some persons, an investigation took place, and the body of the child was discovered. The woman was too ill to be brought to trial, and her subsequent dissolution rendered that event unnecessary ; before her death, however, she made confession of her crime ; and her body was afterwards carried to a grave under the gallows, by men belonging to the jail gang, with the greatest ignominy ; nor was it without the greatest exertions of the police, that the corpse was permitted to be carried along the streets, so great was the abhorrence expressed by the inhabitants at the idea of such an unnatural, detestable, and abominable offence.

In the month of September, Joseph Samuels, who had been convicted of a burglary, was three times suspended : the rope first broke, in a very singular manner, in the middle, and the suffering criminal fell prostrate on the ground ; on the second attempt, the cord unrove at the fastening, and he again came to the ground ; a third trial was attended with no better success, for at the moment when he was launched off, the cord again snapped in twain. Thomas Smith, esq. the provost-marshal, taking compassion on his protracted sufferings, stayed the further progress of the execution, and rode immediately to the Governor, to whom he feelingly represented these extraordinary circumstances, and his Excellency was pleased to extend his Majesty's mercy. Samuels was afterwards transported to another settlement, in consequence of his continu-

ance in his dishonest career, and has subsequently lost his life on the coast, in making an attempt to escape from the colony.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Lieutenant-Governor Collins forms a new Settlement—Insurrection of the Irish Convicts—The Cow Pox introduced into the Settlement—Ship upset in a Tempest—Remarkable Influx of the Sea at Norfolk Island—A singular Phenomenon—Governor King is succeeded by Governor Blyth—George Barrington—Excursion to the Blue Mountains—New Market established—Vessels seized and carried away by the Convicts—Natives—Orphan Schools—Warehouses erected—Murders.

IN the month of October, Lieutenant-Governor Collins arrived to form and command a settlement at Port Phillip: he was accompanied by detachments of marines and convicts; but the situation being found particularly ineligible, after communicating with the Governor in chief, he removed to the river Derwent, where he arrived on the 19th of February, 1804, and a very extensive settlement was speedily formed there; as, in addition to the numbers of persons he took with him, a great many settlers and others went thither from Norfolk Island, since that place had been ordered to be evacuated. In the following April, a new settlement was formed at the Coal River, now called King's Town, Newcastle District, the county of Northumberland, and a short distance to the northward of Port Jackson. Previous to this period, some form of government had been adopted at that place, in order to enable vessels going there to procure cedar and coals with greater facility; but, on account of the increasing trade, the governor considered it expedient to found a regular settlement, and thus to establish a commercial intercourse of greater importance.

At the commencement of the year 1804, the tranquillity of the colony experienced some interruption. It has been men-

tioned before the circumstances of the importation of Irish convicts in the year 1800, and of their attempts to disseminate amongst their fellow-prisoners the seeds of insubordination and riot. The vigilance and prudence of Governor Hunter, at that time, checked the rapid progress of the flame of sedition; but, although apparently extinguished, the fire was only smothered for a time. Discontent had taken root, and its eradication was a matter of more difficulty than could have been foreseen. The most unprincipled of the convicts had cherished the vile principles of their new companions, and only waited for the maturity of their designs to commence the execution of schemes which involved the happiness and security of the whole colony. The operations of these disaffected persons had hitherto been conducted with such secrecy, that no suspicion of their views was entertained, until the 4th of March in this year, when a violent insurrection broke out at Castle Hill, a settlement between Parramatta and Hawkesbury, and the insurgents expressed their determination to emancipate themselves from their confinement, or to perish in the struggle for liberty. Information of the extent and alarming appearance of this mutiny having reached the Governor, it was deemed necessary, on the following day, to proclaim martial law; and a party of the troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel George Johnston, were directed to pursue the rebels. After a long march, the military detachment came up with the insurgents, near the Ponds, about half-way between Parramatta and Hawkesbury, and a short parley ensued, when the Colonel found it necessary to fire upon them; and, after killing several of the misguided rebels, and making prisoners of the principals who survived, the remainder made a rapid retreat. Ten of the leaders of this insurrection, who had been observed as particularly conspicuous and zealous in their endeavours to seduce the rest, were tried on the 8th of March, and capitally convicted. Three were executed on the same evening at Parramatta, since it was justly concluded, that measures of prompt severity would

have a greater effect upon the minds of those who had forsaken their allegiance. On the following day, two other rebels were executed at Sydney, and three at Castle Hill : the two remaining criminals were respited, as they were the least corrupted, and had discovered symptoms of sincere remorse for the part which they had taken in the late operations. On the 9th, martial law was repealed ; and from that moment no disturbance has again broken in upon the peace of the settlement of a serious nature, although it would be too much to suppose that the seeds of insubordination and disorder were entirely eradicated by the frustrated event of the first endeavour. Men of such desperate characters as are to be found in this colony, are not to be intimidated by punishment, nor discouraged by failure from the pursuit of that career of depravity, which is become dear to them from habit ; nothing short of death can destroy, in those minds, the affection for vice, and the determination to gratify their ruling passion, in spite of obstacles, however alarming, or opposition, however strenuous and vigilant. Mr. Dixon, a Roman Catholic priest, who had been sent under an order of transportation from Ireland, for his principles, accompanied Colonel Johnston on this service, and proved to be of some utility in bringing back the insurgents to a proper sense of their duty. It cannot be too much to say, that the conduct of Mr. Dixon, before and after this business, was strictly exemplary.

In May, the blessings of vaccination were introduced into the settlement, and all the young children were inoculated with success ; but unfortunately, by some means as yet unaccounted for, the virtue has been lost, and the colony has been once more left without a protection from that most dreadful of all disorders, the small-pox ; of the fatal consequences of which the natives have more than once afforded the most dreadful evidence, their loathsome carcases having been found, while this disorder was prevalent amongst them, lying about the beach, and on the rocks. In fact, such is the terror of this disorder amongst these untutored sons of nature,

that, on its appearance, they forsake those who are infected with it, leaving them to die, without a friend at hand, or assistance to smooth the aspect of death, and to fly into the thickest of the woods. Their superstition leads them to consider it as an infernal visitation ; and its effects are such as to justify this idea, in some degree, for it seldom fails to desolate and depopulate whole districts, and strews the surface of the country with the unburied carcasses of its wretched and deserted victims.

During the violence of a tempest in the month of September, a ship of five hundred tons, named the *Lady Barlow*, and belonging to Messrs. Campbell and Co. whilst lying in the Cove at her moorings, was completely overset by the irresistible fury of the gale ; but, with some difficulty, she was raised again. Considerable damage also resulted from this tremendous storm in the interior of the settlement, where trees were rooted up, and the forests were almost depopulated of their most ancient tenants. Huts were blown down and houses unroofed, and the loss to numbers of the inhabitants was such as to afford a serious interruption to their prosperity.

In the month of May, 1805, Norfolk Island experienced a considerable influx of the sea, which, from the extraordinary nature of the occurrence, is worthy of mention. The tide first ebbed to a great distance ; when, suddenly, an unusual swell was seen coming on, which occasioned considerable alarm to the colony, to whom such a circumstance was entirely novel : it rose to a great height, and retired to its channel. A second time it revisited the shore, and flowed to a more considerable height than before : a second time it retreated ; and once again returned, with a fury surpassing its former efforts ; paralyzing the spectators with terror, who were unable to imagine where the extraordinary swellings might pause. For the last time, however, the ocean left the shores, without having caused any material damage ; and, in its regress, it opened the secrets of the deep, and displayed to

“ mortal ken” rocks which had remained until now undiscovered.

About this period, a mare, belonging to a settler named Roger Twyfield, at Hawkesbury, produced a foal, without any fore-legs, or the least appearance of any : it lived for some time, fed very well, and, exclusive of its natural deficiency, was in every respect a remarkably well-made animal. Such a singular phenomenon in nature has scarcely a parallel; and probably it is the only instance of an imperfect or deformed progeny in the settlement. Previous to the death of this singular animal, an appearance of a horn was discovered sprouting from its forehead; assimilating it, in some degree, to the supposed unicorn.

On the 12th of August, 1806, Governor King was succeeded in his command at the settlement by Governor Bligh, who arrived from England for that purpose; at which period the colony was in a state of growing prosperity, notwithstanding the progress of cultivation was considerably retarded by the frequent overflowings of the Hawkesbury, which never failed to produce such extensive injury to the settlers on its banks, as would have been sufficient to discourage men of much more industry and perseverance than many amongst them.

The death of Mr. George Barrington, who, for a long time, was in the situation of chief constable at Parramatta, ought to have been previously adverted to, as his decease took place some time before this period. During his residence in the colony, he had conducted himself with singular propriety of conduct; and, by his industry, had saved some money; but, for a considerable time previous to his death, he was in a state of insanity, and was constantly attended by a trusty person. The general opinion of those around him was, that he brought on this malady, so destructive to the majesty of man, by his serious and sorrowful reflexions on his former career of iniquity. His death, however, was that of a good man, and a sincere christian. He expressed a very considerable degree of displeasure, when he was in a state of sanity, at his name being

affixed to a narrative, which he knew only by report, as being about to be published, and which subsequently did appear, under a deceptive mask.

The Blue Mountains have never yet been passed, so that beyond those tremendous barriers, the country yet remains unexplored and unknown. Various attempts have, at different periods, been made to exceed this boundary of the settlement; but none of them have been attended with the wished-for effect. M. Barrallier, a French gentleman, late an ensign in the New South Wales corps, has been further across than any other individual; but he was compelled to return unsatisfied, before he had obtained any knowledge of the trans-mountainous territory which he longed to behold. Mr. Mann, who has published a brief but interesting account of this colony, made an excursion to these mountains in the year 1807, "I was accompanied" says he, "by an European and three natives; but after mounting the steep acclivities for four days, until I found my stock of provisions sensibly diminishing; I thought it most prudent to re-trace my way to the habitable part of the settlement, and to leave the task of exploring them to some person more qualified, mentally as well as physically, for the arduous undertaking. In fine, from the specimen I had acquired during this journey, of the difficulties which surround this task, I think that, after travelling a few miles over them, their appearance (although so amazingly grand) is sufficiently terrific to deter any man of common perseverance from proceeding in his design.

"In the progress of my undulating, I ascended about four or five stupendous acclivities, whose perpendicular sides scarcely permitted me to gain the ascent. No sooner had I attained to the summit of one of these cliffs, flattering myself that I should there find the termination of my toil, than my eye was appalled with the sight of another, and so on to the end of my journey; when, after mounting with the utmost difficulty a fifth of these mountainous heights, I beheld myself, apparently, as remote from my ultimate object, as at the first hour of

my quitting the level country beneath. Some of these ridges presented to the eye a brilliant verdure of the most imposing nature, while others had the appearance of unchanging sterility, relieved by the interposition of pools of stagnant water and running streams; there shrubs and trees enlivened the scene, and here barrenness spread its dreary arms, and encircled the space as far as the eye could reach. On my return, in sliding down the steep declivities, I so completely lacerated my clothes, that they scarcely contained sufficient power to cover me. I saw no other animals or reptiles, during this excursion, than those which are common throughout the country.

“ Were it not for the existence of such insurmountable obstacles, is it to be supposed that persons who have resided above twenty years within sight of this Alpine chain of hills, would have so long suppressed a curiosity, of the existence of which every day gives some evidence, and have remained so totally uninformed as to the nature of a country, from which the most distant part of the settlement is far from being remote? Or is it probable that the settlers, who reside at the very base of the mountains, would so long have remained ignorant of the space on the other side, if such impassable impediments did not intervene.”

In the commencement of the year 1808, a new market was established on a part called the Old Parade, near to the Orphan House, and every exertion was made to expedite the building of the shops. The market-days are Wednesdays and Saturdays, when a considerable number of farmers, from the districts between Sydney and Parramatta, as well as from other quarters, attend with the produce of their lands: they also bring poultry, vegetables, fruit, &c.; and to prevent, as much as possible, the too frequent impositions practised, a clerk of the market has been appointed, to weigh all things that may be required.

Of late years, a number of vessels have been seized and carried away by the convicts, amongst whom there must ever

be numbers who will eagerly grasp at any project of emancipating themselves which occurs to their minds. Lately, the *Venus*, a brig belonging to Messrs. Robert Campbell and Co. laden with a quantity of provisions and stores to supply the settlements to the southward, and a very handsome brig, called the *Harrington*, from Madras, were seized and taken off.—The former, when she had reached her place of destination, after coming to an anchor, and landing the master with dispatches for the Lieutenant-Governor, was seized by some convicts who had been placed on board, under confinement, aided by part of the crew, and was carried beyond the reach of re-capture. She has since been heard of, but without a probability of her recovery. The latter was cut out of Farm Cove, and was carried out to sea, before any information was received on the subject. This transaction was planned in a very secret manner, so that all the convicts boarded her about twelve o'clock at night; and, although the vessel lay in sight of some part of the town, and within the fire of two batteries, yet nothing was discovered of the circumstance until the following morning. Upon the representation being made to Colonel Johnston, that officer ordered several boats to be manned immediately, and a party of the New South Wales corps, with a number of inhabitants who had volunteered their services, to use every means to re-take the vessel, put out to sea; but, after rowing and sailing for several hours, they were at length obliged to return, without ever coming in sight of the *Harrington*. Other means were subsequently tried for the recovery of the vessel, but all to no effect; the convicts had managed their matters with such secrecy, promptitude, and skill, as totally prevented every endeavour to counteract their intention.

The natives and our countrymen are now somewhat sociable, and there are not many outrages committed by either party. I believe that some of the white men would frequently be more severe with the Aborigines, when caught in the very act of committing depredations, but the circumstance of seve-

ral settlers being capitally convicted of the murder of a native boy, in January, 1800, acts as a check on their violent dispositions, and prevents the recurrence of such sanguinary proceedings. Some years previous to this period, the Europeans at the Hawkesbury suffered considerably from the marauding inclinations of the natives, several of their huts being burned, and themselves severely wounded; their corn-fields were also frequently despoiled, and their future promise blasted. On these as well as subsequent occasions, the settlers, in defence of their persons and property, were compelled to have recourse to arms, the natural and necessary consequence of which was the destruction of some of the plundering tribes; but, in these instances, the circumstances justified the deed, and the Governor sent assistance to them, rather than the contrary. In fact, so many atrocious deeds were committed by one of their leaders at Hawkesbury, who had long been a determined enemy to the Europeans, that Governor King found it necessary to issue an order, offering a reward to any person who should kill him and bring in his head. This was soon accomplished by artifice, the man received the reward, and the head was sent to England in spirits by the Speedy. Those practices, however, had now, in a great measure, been done away with, and it was seldom heard that any steps of violence were pursued on either side. But when thus speaking of the general good understanding which exists between the Europeans and natives, it must be understood to be confined to the vicinity of the principal settlements; for about the remoter coasts they are still savages, as may be gathered from the following narrative of an occurrence in April, 1808:—The Fly, colonial vessel, being driven into Bateman's Bay by bad weather, had occasion to send three of her crew on shore to search for water; and it was agreed, previous to their departure, that in case of any appearance of danger, a musket should be fired from the vessel, as a signal for the immediate return of those who had landed. Shortly after the boat had reached the shore, a considerable body of

natives assembled round the boat, and a musket was accordingly discharged. The men returned to the boat with the utmost precipitation, and without any obstruction; but they had no sooner put off from the shore, than a flight of spears pursued them, and was succeeded by others, until the whole of the three unfortunate men fell from their oars, and expired beneath the attacks of their enemies. The savages immediately seized and manned the boat; and, with a number of canoes, prepared for an attack upon the vessel itself, which narrowly escaped their unprovoked fury, by cutting the cable, with all possible expedition, and standing out to sea. The names of the unhappy men who were thus murdered, were Charles Freeman, Thomas Bligh, and Robert Goodlet. This melancholy circumstance affords a sufficient illustration of the dispositions of those natives which are remote from the settlements; and as no such occurrences have taken place amongst the neighbouring inhabitants of the country, it is but a fair presumption to conclude, that an association with Europeans has in some degree polished their native rudeness, has softened the cruelty and natural violence of their dispositions, and inculcated into their breasts some principles of humanity. By observing the conduct of the new settlers, the savages have learned to imitate their actions, and to discard a portion of that barbarity of manners, which allied them to the material creation.

About this period, two persons arrived; one as master of the female Orphan school, and the other to superintend the boys; but as the school for the latter was not yet erected, an advertisement was immediately given out by government, to ascertain the numbers of the youth of that description, in order that some correct idea might be formed of the extent of the projected building. The female school was established and occupied by the children, who were considered as proper objects of the charity, in the early months of the year 1801, soon after Governor King took the command of the settlement, and is a fine institution; and the late committee have

so acted, as to reflect honour on the task which they have so feelingly undertaken. Nor can the children of that institution ever be sufficiently grateful to Mrs. Paterson and Major Abbot, as well as to some few others of the several committees, whose judicious measures and well-adapted plans, have not only contributed to their present comfort, but laid a foundation for their being brought up in a life of virtue and industry, instead of becoming the objects of prostitution and infamy. It is supported by different duties levied on merchandize—by fines, fees, &c. and is of no expense to the crown. The establishment of these benevolent asylums for the offspring of misery, confers a high degree of credit on their originators, as well as on the people amongst whom they flourish, and affords a powerful argument to combat those weak and obstinate prejudices which have been raised against this colony, by persons of little information and less liberality, who, reasoning on narrow principles, and with obscure views of the subject, are incredulous of the good which exceeds the horizon of their own bounded perspective, and are ever amongst the foremost to exclaim, “Can any good come out of Nazareth?”

A complete range of storehouses was completed on the banks of the Parramatta river, and another had been commenced close by the wharf at Sydney. The necessity for some new buildings of this description had been evident for some time, as the chief part of the King's storehouses, which had been previously erected, were unfortunately so remote from the water-side, as to occasion much superfluous labour, as well as to render the unloading of ships extremely burdensome and expensive. These inconveniences have, however, been considerably lessened by the new arrangements; and the pursuance of a similar system will speedily render the port infinitely more commodious, and effectually remove those grievances which were calculated to restrict the influx, and *increase the estimated value of merchandize.*

A short time before Mr. Mann left the settlement, two murders were committed, by men named Brown and Kenny;

the former of whom had killed several men at the southward, and was brought from thence to Port Jackson for trial, where he was convicted, executed, and subsequently hung in chains on Pinch-gut, a small island in the centre of the harbour leading to Sydney Cove. The latter was arraigned for the murder of a woman named Smith, who, after he had perpetrated the deed, endeavoured to consume the body of his victim, by thrusting it in the fire. He was executed, and hung in chains at Parramatta.

CHAP. XXXV.

Order to be observed in the preceding Narrative—Land in Cultivation—Agriculture—Wages—Stock—Wise Regulations of Colonel Johnson and Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux—Price of Provisions—Trade and Manufacture—Population—Religion—Morals—Amusements—Military Force—Natives.

IN the preceding narrative, which depicts the state of the colony down to the close of the year 1809, we have not adverted to the singular and abrupt termination of the power and authority of Governor Bligh, nor to the different revolutions in the affairs of the colony which followed that event. In a subsequent part of this work we purpose to give an accurate and connected account of that business, down to the trial of Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, for usurping the government of the colony, and deposing the lawful governor. Before entering on this subject, we shall present our readers with a view of the present state of the colony, drawn principally from the report of Mr Mann, who resided many years in the settlement, and from the official situations he held, enjoyed the means of obtaining the most correct information on this subject, whereby the reader may form just and indisputable estimates of the increase of the settlement; of its

growth in population and extent, as well as in the means of supporting its increased members. This division of the subject will also afford the political philosopher new materials for calculation, on a subject so interesting, so important to the civilized world, as the colonization and cultivation of those remote parts of the universe, which may, at some future period, be made the seats of new empires, by draining off from the old world that superfluity of population, which, like an insupportable burden of fruit on a tree, unless removed, would tend to depress and destroy the trunk which produced and supported it.

The following account of land in cultivation was taken in 1809, by order of Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux, and making a part of the several tracts granted by the crown to settlers, &c. as described in the survey, stood as follows:—

Belonging to the Crown.

Acres in wheat	..	100
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Belonging to Officers.

Acres of wheat	..	326½
Ditto of maize	..	178
Ditto of barley	...	22½
Ditto of oats	..	18
Ditto of pease and beans		1½
Ditto of potatoes	..	19½
Ditto of orchard	..	85
Ditto of flax and hemp	..	6

Belonging to Settlers.

Acres of wheat	..	6460½
Ditto of maize	..	3211
Ditto of barley	.	512
Ditto of oats	..	79½
Ditto of pease and beans		98½
Ditto of potatoes	..	281½

Ditto of turnips	13
Ditto of garden and orchard	481
Ditto of flax, hemp, and hops	28½

Total.—6887 acres of wheat, 3389 acres of maize, 534½ acres of barley, 92½ acres of oats, 100½ acres of pease and beans, 301 acres of potatoes, 13 acres of turnips, 546 acres of orchard and garden, 34½ acres of flax, hemp, and hops.

The following is the general course of cultivation adopted, and justified by experience :—

January.—The ground intended for wheat and barley to be sown in, ought to be now broken up ; carrots should also be sown, and potatoes planted in this month are most productive for the winter consumption.

February.—A general crop of turnips for sheep, &c. should be sown this month, the land having been previously manured, cleared, ploughed, &c. This is also the proper month for putting Cape barley in the ground for green food for horses, cattle, &c.

March.—Strawberries should be planted this month, and onions for immediate use should be sown. All forest land should be now sown with wheat ; and turnips, for a general crop, in the proportion of one pound of seed to an acre of land.

April.—From the middle of this month, until the end of May, is the best season for sowing wheat in the districts of Richmond Hill, Phillip, Nelson, and Evan, as it is not so subject to the caterpillar, smut, rust, and blight. Oats may also be sown now for a general crop. Asparagus haulm should also be cut and carried off the ground, and the beds dunged.

May.—Pease and beans for a field crop should be sown in this month ; but, in gardens, at pleasure, as you may be supplied with them, as well as most other vegetable productions, sallads, &c. nearly at all times of the year.

June.—This is the best season for transplanting all kinds of fruit trees, except evergreens ; layers may also be now

made, and cuttings planted from hardy trees. Spring barley should be sown this month upon all rich land, three bushels to an acre.

July.—Potatoes which were planted in January are now fit for digging. Stocks to bud and plant upon should now be transplanted; cabbage and carrots may be sown; and strawberries should be cleaned, and have their spring dressing.

August.—Potatoes must now be planted for general summer use; the ground prepared for clover at this season is best. Cucumbers and melons of all kinds should now be sown, and evergreens transplanted. Vines ought to be cut and trimmed early in this month. Ground may this month also be ploughed for the reception of maize, and turnip land prepared for grass.

September.—This is the best season for grafting fruit-trees, and the ground should be entirely prepared for planting with maize. Grass-seed or clover should be sown in the beginning of this month, if the weather is favourable, and there is a prospect of rains.

October.—All fruit-trees now in bearing should be examined, and where the fruit is set too thick, it must be reduced to a moderate quantity. The farmer should plant as much of his maize this month as possible, and clean ground for potatoes.

November.—In this month the harvest becomes general throughout the colony, and no wheat ought to be stacked upon the ground, as the moisture which arises from the earth ascends through the stack, and tends much, in this warm climate, to increase the weevils, which prove very destructive to the wheat. Evergreens may now be propagated by layers, and cabbage, lettuce, and turnips sown.

December.—The stubble-ground is frequently planted with maize in this month, so that it produces a crop of wheat and another of maize in the same year; but the policy of thus forcing the ground is much questioned by many experienced agriculturists, and is supposed to have led to the ruin of some

of these avaricious farmers. Cauliflower and brocoli seeds may now be sown.

The prices paid for planting, clearing ground, &c. is as follows, according to the regulations specified in the general orders:—For felling forest timber, 10s. per acre; for burning-off ditto, 25s. per acre; for breaking up new ground, 24s. per acre; for breaking up stubble or corn land, 13s. 4d. per acre; for chipping in wheat, 6s. 8d. per acre; for reaping ditto, 8s. per acre; for threshing ditto, 7d. per bushel; for planting maize, 6s. 8d. per acre; for hilling ditto, 6s. 8d. per acre; and for pulling and husking ditto, 5d. per bushel.—The hours of public labour are from sunrise to eight o'clock, and (Sundays excepted) from nine to three. On Saturdays, on account of the stores being open for the issue of provisions, the hours are from sunrise to nine o'clock.

Yearly wages for servants, with board 10*l*.; weekly ditto, with provisions, 6s.; daily wages, with board 1s.; and daily wages, without board, 2s. 6d.

The following is an accurate account of live stock, taken at the same time as the preceding statement of land in cultivation :—

Belonging to the Crown.

Male Horses	..	28
Female ditto	..	19
Bulls	..	21
Cows	..	1791
Oxen	..	1800
Male sheep	..	395
Female ditto	..	604

Belonging to Officers.

Male horses	..	81
Female ditto	..	146
Bulls	..	58

Cows	..	1111
Oxen	..	696
Male sheep	..	2638
Female ditto	..	5298
Male goats	..	40
Female ditto	..	73
Male pigs	..	486
Female ditto	..	587

Belonging to Settlers.

Male horses	..	258
Female ditto	..	329
Bulls	..	40
Cows	..	1906
Oxen	..	1172
Male sheep	..	7449
Female ditto	..	15327
Male goats	..	799
Female ditto	..	1670
Male pigs	..	7693
Female ditto	..	7435

Belonging to Persons not holding Land.

Male horses	..	44
Female ditto	..	35
Bulls	..	19
Cows	..	307
Oxen	..	106
Male sheep	..	325
Female ditto	..	1222
Male goats	..	97
Female ditto	..	296
Male pigs	..	1641
Female ditto	..	1576

Total of Stock.—411 male horses, 529 female ditto; 118 bulls, 5115 cows; 3771 oxen; 10807 male sheep, 22,451 female ditto; 936 male goats, 2039 female ditto; 9820 male pigs, and 9548 female ditto.

The common lands to the various districts, which were located in perpetuity in 1804, are now felt very serviceable, and were just granted at a period that prevented any of the settlers from being thoroughly enclosed, so that every grazier has now an opportunity of feeding his stock thereon, without confining himself to the quantity of land he chooses to cultivate on his own farm.

From the above statements it will most certainly appear, that the colony is in a very flourishing state, and, no doubt, will soon become independent of the mother country, if these methods are pursued which are best calculated to promote this end. No one step has latterly been taken to facilitate this desirable object more than the measures adopted by Colonel Johnstone and Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux, who distributed the breeding cattle amongst the industrious and deserving settlers; a step which has produced benefits of a two-fold nature—laying the foundation for the more rapid increase of stock, and affording a stimulus to meritorious exertions. In the districts about Hawkesbury, the grain yields abundantly; but in the other settlements it is less productive: The reason of this distinction must be chiefly obvious to the reader of the preceding sketch, in the liability of the soil at the former settlement to frequent inundations, which serve every purpose of manure, and uniformly keep the ground in a mellow state. It has been erroneously stated, that the average produce of the land in New South Wales is sixty bushels of wheat per acre; but it is well known that twenty-five bushels an acre will be found the full extent of the average produce. When a comparison is made between the present state of the country and its former condition, the improvements will appear considerable in agriculture, and almost incredible in every other respect. The season for the gathering in of the wheat has been

gradually accelerated, ever since the commencement of the colony ; and the harvest of the last year commenced nearly a month sooner than it did at the first : The fruit seemed also later.

The following was the current price of Articles of Food, in the year 1809 :—Wheat 12s. per bushel ; maize 5s. per bushel ; barley 5s. per bushel ; oats 4s. 6d. per bushel ; potatoes 10s. per cwt. ; turnips 4d. per bunch ; carrots 6d. per bunch ; cabbages 3d. each ; lemons 6d. per dozen ; peaches 2d. per dozen ; apples 2s. per dozen ; pears 3s. per dozen ; strawberries 1s. per quart ; quinces 2s. per dozen ; water melons 9d. each ; musk and other melons 1s. each ; apricots 1s. per dozen ; mulberries 1s. per quart ; Cape gooseberries 8d. per quart ; native currants 8d. per quart ; oranges, raspberries, grapes, plumbs, almonds, pomegranates, limes, shad-docks, citrons, pine-apples, nectarines, and guavas, are to be procured ; but their prices are variable, some of them being more scarce than others. Cucumbers 1d. each, mushrooms 8d. per quart, French beans 4d. per quart, onions, 20s. per cwt. peas 1s. per quart, beans 9d. per quart, asparagus 2s. per hundred, artichokes 6d. each, spinage 1s. per dish, pumpkins 6d. each, cauliflowers 6d. each, brocoli 6d. per dish, figs 3d. per dozen. Beet-root, lettuces, raddishes, sallad of all kinds, horse-raddish, samphire, water-cresses, celery, endive, and herbs of every description, are extremely plentiful and to be purchased at reasonable rates.

Animal food is to be procured at the following prices :—Beef 1s. 3d. per lb. ; mutton 1s. 3d. per lb. ; pork 1s. per lb. ; lamb 1s. 3d. per lb. ; kangaroo 8d. per lb. (the flesh of this animal is somewhat similar in taste to English beef, but rather inferior, owing to the want of fat ; goat mutton 1s. per lb. ; turkeys 10s. each ; geese 8s. each ; ducks 4s. each ; Muscovy ducks 5s. each ; fowls 2s. 6d. each ; wild ducks 2s. each ; teal 1s. 3d. each ; rabbits 4s. each ; roasting pigs 5s. each ; pigeons 1s. 3d. each ; kids 5s. each ; eggs 1s. 6d. per

dozen; butter 6s. per lb.; milk 1s. per quart; cheese 2s. 6d. per lb.; oysters 1s. per quart; and lobsters 1s. each.

Fish is exceedingly numerous of every description, and is very good as well as moderate in charge. A turtle was caught recently in Broken Bay, with a hook, weighing seven hundred weight, which was retailed to the inhabitants at 4d. per lb.

The following is to be considered as a full weekly ration, which is issued from the stores whenever there is a sufficiency without a prospect of want, to those who are in the employ of government :—Seven pounds of salt beef, or four pounds of salt pork; eight pounds of flour or meal, or an addition of a quarter of a pound of wheat to each pound, if it cannot be ground; pease or other pulse, three pounds; six ounces of sugar in lieu of butter. The same quantity is to be given by their employer to those who are indented to settlers, &c.; but as frequent alterations are necessarily made, according to the pressure of circumstances, the deficiency is generally made up with maize.

A manufactory has been established for coarse woollen blanketing or rugs, and coarse linen called drugget; a linen of a very good quality has also been produced, which has been disposed of to settlers, &c.; and issued from the stores to those who labour for the crown. The spinning has been done by the female convicts, and the weaving, &c. by the male. The person who superintended this department, for some time, was George Mealmaker, a well-known political character in North Britain; but he has been dead some years, and the manufactory, which adjoins the gaol at Parramatta, has been almost entirely destroyed by fire; consequently, the progress which would have been made in this manufacture has been greatly retarded. When Mr Mann left the colony, however, a very deserving, respectable, and persevering settler, at Hawkesbury, was about to commence in that way on a very extensive scale; for which laudable purpose he had sown several acres with flax and hemp, and it is hoped his exertions will tend to benefit the colony, to which the esta-

ishment of a manufactory of this description has been long an object ardently to be desired; and it is to be hoped, that the effort of this new speculator will be crowned with that success which it so eminently deserves.

The leather made from the skins of cattle, kangaroo, seal, &c. are extremely good, and are tanned by a bark which grows in the settlement much sooner than a similar operation is performed in England. The sole leather cannot be surpassed in point of goodness; and every improvement which can arise from competition may naturally be expected, since there are several persons who follow this line of business both at Sydney and Parramatta.

Several potteries have been established; but the most celebrated manufacturer of this description, named Skinner, lately died. His dishes, plates, basons, covers, cups and saucers, teapots, and chimney ornaments, were in a very superior style of workmanship; and other useful articles equally handsome.

Tobacco-pipes, which, some years ago, at the cheapest periods cost sixpence each, are now manufactured in the settlement, of a very good quality, and are retailed for one penny each. The great propensity to smoking which prevails throughout the colony, causes an astonishing consumption of this article, and has well repaid the original speculator.

Salt is made in great abundance from salt water; and large salt-pans have been erected at Rose Bay, whence, and at Newcastle, great quantities are made and sent to Sydney. A plan, however, had been proposed to the governor, for making it by evaporation, which it was supposed would be carried into effect; it was in agitation, and was nearly brought to perfection when this statement was made.

Some very palatable beer is brewed in the settlement, at four extensive breweries; one at Sydney, one at Kissing Point, one at Parramatta, and the other at Hawkesbury; and a number of persons brew their own beer. Some improvements here may yet be looked for, since at present the gain

manufactured very badly in the colony, which is attributed more to the want of proper utensils than any deficiency of ability. In a short time also they will be enabled to grow a sufficiency of hops in the settlement for every purpose, without being compelled, as at present, to have recourse to the mother country for this necessary article.

Eight wind-mills have been erected for the purpose of grinding corn; and a water-mill, which had been erected at Parramatta, has, most unfortunately, been lately destroyed by a flood.

There are four auctioneers, or vendue masters, in the settlement; two at Sydney, one at Parramatta, and one at Hawkesbury: they usually charge five per cent on sales.

The shops are particularly respectable, and decorated with much taste. Articles of female apparel and ornament are greedily purchased; for the European women in the settlement spare no expense in ornamenting their persons, and in dress, each seems to vie with the other in extravagance. The costliness of the exterior there, as well as in most other parts of the world, is meant as the mark of superiority; but confers very little grace, and much less virtue, on its wearers; when speaking of the dashing belles who generally frequent the Rocks, who may often be seen of, an evening attired in the greatest splendour, and on the following morning are hid from public view with extremely mean attire.

Spirits are also bought up with astonishing rapidity; and, when prohibited, will ever be obtained by some means or other, and it has been known to sell as high as thirty shillings per bottle; the general price by the retailer, however, is from ten to sixteen shilling per bottle. Most of the people in the colony, male and female, give way to excessive drinking. Wines are not so eagerly sought after, and are therefore more reasonable than might be expected; but if the rage for luxuries continues to increase in the same proportion as it has done for the last few years, it must soon obtain an enhanced price, and a more rapid sale. The evils consequent upon the

unrestrained use of these articles, are such as to justify the most poignant regrets that they should be held in such estimation by all descriptions of persons, since they have proved from their first introduction into the colony, and still continue to be, the fertile sources of social disorder, of domestic misery, of disorders, and of death. It is to no purpose that the higher orders set examples of sobriety and temperance ; it is of no avail that the governor uses every prudent exertion to restrain the immoderate traffic in these pernicious liquors ; threats, intreaties, and punishments, are equally useless ; and while spirits are to be procured, the inhabitants will possess them at the price of every other comfort of life.

It will not be improper, when on this subject, to advert to a singular circumstance respecting the specie of the settlement. The copper coin which was sent out by government has most surprisingly decreased, as very little indeed is now used currently. No reason can be assigned for its rapid diminution, as it was issued in the colony in the first instance at one hundred per cent. above its real value. The scarcity of this specie, at all events, operates as an obstruction to trade ; and some steps ought to be taken to remove the cause of complaint, by filling up the deficiency which has so unaccountably taken place.

There are nine thousand three hundred and fifty-six inhabitants in the settlement, out of which number upwards of six thousand support themselves, and the rest are victualled and clothed at the expense of the crown, Most men of a trade or profession pursue their calling ; and labourers are either employed by settlers to cultivate their lands, and in various occupations, or work in different gangs, where they can be serviceable.

When a transport arrives with prisoners, their irons are immediately knocked off (if this has not been previously done), unless some powerful reason exists to justify an exception from this rule. The muster is taken by the commissary, who gives receipts for every thing belonging to the crown ; the

list, with remarks, is given to the governor, who orders them to what part of the settlement he thinks proper, where the deficiency of hands in agricultural or other employments renders such an acquisition desirable.

The behaviour of the prisoners has recently been much less exceptionable than in the earlier days of the settlement; and they seem to have accommodated their dispositions, in a great degree, to their new situations; those who are guilty of theft have latterly been transported to some remote settlement, and this system of punishment has been found more efficacious than the infliction of castigation, or any other corporal punishment, since they feel an unconquerable repugnance to the idea of a separation from their old connections and companions, and a removal to a solitary scene, where they cannot hope for any opportunities of recommencing those pursuits which are so truly congenial to their dispositions.

The children born in this colony from European parents, are very robust, comely, and well made; nor is there a solitary instance of one being naturally deformed. They are remarkably quick of apprehension; learn any thing with uncommon rapidity; and greatly improve in good manners, promising to become a fine race of people.

The religion most generally followed in the colony of New South Wales, is that established according to the usage of the Church of England; and it is a subject of satisfaction to observe that the churches are, generally speaking, well attended. A great part of the military corps, with their officers, uniformly attend divine service. A Roman Catholic priest (the Rev. Mr. Dixon) was formerly allowed by government to preach in public, but this indulgence has been subsequently withdrawn from some cause or other; and this alteration is attributed to the seditious conduct of the Irish prisoners, some years since, in which it was proved that another priest (Mr. Harold) bore a conspicuous part, upholding and encouraging the designs of those who entertained schemes

inimical to the existing government, and subversive of the welfare of the colony.

Some of the Missionary Society preach at the out settlements, frequently on a Sunday, with various success; and it is much to be lamented, that in the selection of these men, who are sent out to enlighten and instruct the ignorant, greater attention is not paid to their qualifications; and the abuses which are practised under the cloak of religion, in these remote parts of the world, call aloud for a close investigation, and a total reformation of the system. That there are amongst these Missionaries men of strict fidelity, whose hearts are engaged in the task they have undertaken, and whose conduct has justly gained them the esteem and veneration of all classes, is a fact which no dispassionate observer can deny; but it is also equally notorious, that there are too many of an opposite description, who practise every vice, and do the most serious injury to that sacred cause to which they have been delegated, and have engaged to support. If greater pains were taken in the choice of servants, the Missionary institution might tend to the more rapid promotion of the knowledge of religion; but the work will be retarded while improper instruments are used.

The natives are in general very superstitious, and entertain some singular notions respecting their deceased friends and countrymen, accounts of which are already given. Their funeral ceremonies are extremely impressive, and every mark of respect, which suggests itself to their untaught minds, is paid to the body of the deceased.

Amongst the convicts the influence of superstition is less prevalent, although, amongst many of the lower orders of Irish, the traces of it are to be discovered; it leads, however, to no injurious consequences, and deserves encouragement, in preference to those totally irreligious principles which might naturally be expected to shew themselves amidst a

body of men, of characters and dispositions so hostile to every thing which is virtuous, dignifying, and good.

The morals of the colony are by no means so debauched as the tongue of prejudice has too frequently asserted; on the contrary, virtuous characters are not rare, and honourable principles are not less prevalent here than in other communities of equal extent and limited growth. The instances of drunkenness, dishonesty, and their concomitant offences, are not more common than in the mother country; and those amongst the convicts who are disposed to return to their old habits, and re-commence their depredations upon society, are deterred by the severe punishment which awaits their detection: There are many also amongst the prisoners themselves, who are now striking examples of probity, industry, temperance, and virtue; and some have obtained a remission of the punishment which occasioned their residence in the settlement, in consequence of the signal and radical change which had taken place in their inclinations and behaviour. Where there is society their must exist offences; but, on the whole, considering the nature of the colony of New South Wales, the morals of the people are as free from glaring defects, as those of any other tract of equal population in the habitable world; and the characters which are celebrated for their virtues are as numerous, in proportion, as those which are to be found in other countries, where civilization and prosperity have made greater progress, and where individuals have greater inducement to labour, and the prospect of a brighter reward for their industrious exertions.

The erection of a play-house was noticed in a preceding part of this work; the abuses which were uniformly committed on the nights of performance, subsequently rendered that a nuisance which was originally intended for an innocent recreation. When the inhabitants were engaged in this enjoyment, their property was left unwatched, and there were ever numbers of dishonest individuals who were ready to

seize upon these opportunities to gratify their vicious dispositions. It was also a common practice to give provisions to obtain entrance, if money was scarce; and thus, by the frequent privations of their regular food, many of the convicts were unable to pursue their labour with proper energy and activity. Other abuses also resulted from the establishment of the theatre, which induced the governor to recall the permission which had been given for the performances, and the playhouse itself was soon afterwards levelled to the ground.

Since the destruction of this building, the sources of amusement have been confined to cricket, cards, water-parties, shooting, fishing, hunting the kangaroo, &c. or any other pleasures which can be derived from society where no public place is open for recreations of any description. The officers of the colony have also built a private billiard-room, by subscription, for their own use; and if these amusements possess not that degree of attraction which is attached to dramatic representations, they cannot, on the other hand, be liable to those abuses, and produce those injurious consequences, which previously existed.

Amongst the convicts, indeed, gaming is carried, too frequently, to the most deplorable excesses; and, in some cases, the most abandoned of the prisoners have actually staked the clothes which they wore, and when those were lost, stood amongst their companions in a state of nudity, thus reducing themselves to a level with the natives of the woods. The most severe measures were called for by this unprincipled practice, and the most gross part of the custom was done away; but it was impossible to put a total stop to the gratification of this gaming disposition, which is still pursued with equal avidity in some way or other, and which may be said, next to drinking, to constitute the chief pleasure and amusements of the lowest classes of the prisoners.

The whole of the military in the colony consists of the New South Wales corps (now the 102d regiment), two

volunteer associations, and a body-guard of troopers for the governor, commanded by a serjeant. In fact, the inutility of a larger military force must be obvious to every man of common reflection, since it is merely required for the purposes of preserving domestic peace, which might be in danger of continual interruptions, in case of the absence of military power altogether, from the turbulent dispositions of many of the convicts. This inclination to revolt, however, is repressed by the appearance of a few organized troops; and a sufficient check is kept upon the natives, who still continue to make occasional incursions, and commit their depredations upon the Indian corn of the settlers, whenever an opportunity offers itself: At these periods the soldiers are called in, and a few of them are found sufficient to drive back the plunderers, who hate and fear the approach of a soldier.

Speaking generally of the natives, they are a filthy, disagreeable race of people; nor is there any measures that could be adopted would ever make them otherwise. Their wars are as frequent as usual, and are attended with as much cruelty both towards men and women. They are still ready at all times to commit depredations upon the Indian corn, whenever there is a probability of their attempts being attended with the desired success; and this predatory disposition renders it frequently necessary to send detachments of the military to disperse them; but the utmost care is taken to prevent any fatal circumstances from attending these acts of needful hostility, and orders are uniformly issued never to fire upon the natives, unless any particularly irritating act should render such a measure expedient. They are amazingly expert at throwing the spear, and will launch it with unerring aim to a distance of thirty to sixty yards. A youth has been seen hurling his spear at an hawk-eagle (a bird which, with wings expanded, measures from seven to ten feet), flying in the air, with such velocity and correctness as to pierce his object, and bring the feathered victim to the earth. This

circumstance will tend to shew how soon the youth of these tribes are trained to the use of the spear, and the dexterity to which they attain in this art before they reached the age of manhood. Indeed, instances are by no means uncommon, where an army of natives is seen following a youthful leader of fifteen or sixteen years of age, and obeying his directions implicitly, because his previous conduct had been characterized by remarkable vigour of body, and intrepidity of mind—virtues which qualify natives of every age and rank for the highest honours and the most marked distinctions amongst these untutored sons of nature. Their attachment to savage life is unconquerable; nor can the strongest allurements tempt them to exchange their wild residences in the recesses of the country, for the comforts of European life. A singular instance of this fact occurred in the case of Bennillong, who was brought to England by Governor Phillip, and returned with Governor Hunter. For some time after his return, it is true, he assumed the manners, the dress, and the consequence of an European, and treated his countrymen with a distance which evinced the sense he entertained of his own increased importance; and this disposition was encouraged by every method which suggested itself to the minds of those of the colony with whom he associated; but, notwithstanding so much pains had been taken for his improvement, both when separated from his countrymen, and since his return to New South Wales, he has subsequently taken to the woods again, returned to his old habits, and now lives in the same manner as those who have never mixed with the civilized world.— Sometimes, indeed, he holds intercourse with the colony; but every effort uniformly fails to draw him once again into the circle of polished society, since he prefers to taste of liberty amongst his native scenes, to the unsatisfactory gratification which arises from an association with strangers, however kind their treatment of him, and however superior to his own enjoyments.

Yet there are many of the natives who feel no disinclination to mix with the inhabitants occasionally—to take their share in the labours and the reward of those who toil. Amongst these there are five in particular, to whom our countrymen have given the names of Bull Dog, Bidgy Bidgy, Bundell, Bloody Jack, and another whose name the author cannot recollect, but who had a farm of four acres and upwards, planted with maize, at Hawkesbury, which he held by permission of Governor King; and the other four made themselves extremely useful on board colonial vessels employed in the fishing and sealing trade, for which they are in the regular receipt of wages. They strive, by every means in their power, to make themselves appear like the sailors with whom they associate, by copying their customs, and imitating their manners; such as swearing, using a great quantity of tobacco, drinking grog, and other similar habits. These natives are the only ones, who are inclined to industrious behaviour, and they have most certainly rendered more essential services to the colony than any others of their countrymen, who, in general, content themselves with assisting to draw nets for fish, for the purpose of coming in for a share of the produce of other toils.

The general pursuits of the natives, their manners and customs, have been so accurately described, that we can add nothing to the knowledge of which the well-informed reader is already possessed. It will be sufficient to remark, that such as the inhabitants of the interior of New Holland were represented ten years since, they still remain, as the antecedent remarks must sufficiently illustrate: The jealousy of the new settlers, which originally existed, has indeed entirely vanished; but the proximity of a civilized colony has not tended in the least to polish the native rudeness and barbarism, which mark the behaviour of the original inhabitants of this remote spot of the universe.

Although the climate is variable, yet it is very healthy, and uncommonly fine for vegetation. Most of the disorders which exist in the settlement are the fruits of intemperance and debauchery, the necessary result of that fatal addiction to drunkenness, which produces mental imbecility and bodily decay. Frost is known but little; at least, ice is very seldom seen; and snow has never yet appeared since the establishment of the colony: Yet on the highest ridges of the remoter mountains, which as never yet been passed, snow is to be seen for a long time together; and this circumstance is a proof of their elevation. The usual weather in New South Wales is uncommonly bright and clear, and the common weather there, in spring and autumn, is equal to the finest summer day in England. This parity and warmth of atmosphere, it may be naturally inferred, must be particularly favourable to the growth of shrubs and plants, which flourish exceedingly, and attain to a degree of perfection and beauty which is unknown to the inhabitants of this country. The woods and fields present a boundless variety of the choicest productions of nature, which gratify the senses with their fragrance and magnificence; while the branches of the trees display a brilliant assemblage of the feathered race, whose plumage, "glittering in the sun," dazzles the eye of the beholder with its unmatched loveliness and lustre, and presenting, on the whole, a scene too rich for the pencil to pourtray—too glowing and animated for the feeble pen of mortal to describe with half the energy and beauty which belong to it, and without which description is unfaithful.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Sketch of the Natural History of the Settlement—Quadrupeds—Birds
Fishes—Reptiles and Insects—Trees—Plants, &c.—Minerals.

CONSIDERABLE attention have been paid to the Natural History of this country, yet much remains to be done. The enterprising and industrious Sir Joseph Banks employed his time with such success while Captain Cook lay in Botany Bay, that the numerous specimens which he produced suggested the name of that place. John White, Esq. surgeon-general to the settlement, enriched the science of Natural History with many curious particulars. His work contains sixty-five plates of non-descript birds, lizards, serpents, cones of trees, and other natural productions. Mr Brown has also recently published his *Podromus* of the plants of New Holland; and many other ingenious gentlemen, while discharging the most arduous and important offices, have snatched an hour to communicate to their friends in Europe some uncommon production of this vast country. The nature of our plan will not, however, permit us to enter fully into this subject, but we will select a few particulars, which may contribute to the information and amusement of the general reader.

The Koolah, or Sloth, a singular animal of the Opossum species, having a false belly, was found by the natives, and brought into the town alive, on the 10th of August, 1803. This is a very singular animal; for when it ascends a tree, at which it is astonishingly expert, it will never quit it until it has cleared it of its leaves. It is mostly found in the mountains and deep ravines to the southward and northward of Broken Bay, and the natives instantly discover its concealment by observing the leaves of the gum-tree eaten off, this

being the tree which it usually selects. It is astonishingly indolent, and is uniformly found with a companion, locked in each other's arms, as it were. Its claws are very strong, and are of material service in assisting it to climb trees; its length from eighteen inches to two feet. Stuffed specimens of this animal have been exhibited in the metropolis.

Latterly also, a species of the Hyena has been found at Port Dalrymple, which is extremely ferocious in appearance, has a remarkably large mouth, is striped all over, very strongly limbed, and its claws strong, long, and sharp. This animal is likewise of the Opossum kind, having like the generality of subjects found in New Holland, a false belly. Notwithstanding its apparent ferocity, it has never yet ventured to attack any human being, but has confined its ravages to sheep and poultry, amongst which it has committed frequent and very serious depredations. No one of these animals has hitherto been brought over to England, either alive or dead, since their native fierceness renders them less easy of capture than the Koolah.

Flying Mice are likewise found, in considerable numbers, in this country, of a very handsome appearance, and also of the Opossum species. The tail of this interesting little animal resembles a feather; its belly is white, and its back brown; and it is covered with a down as soft as satin. It flies like an Opossum. This subject is much regarded for its beauty.

The Porcupine Ant-eaters are found in most parts of the country, and are esteemed very good eating; they burrow in the earth, and have a tongue of remarkable length, which they put out of their mouth, and the ants immediately crowd upon it, as if lured by some particular attraction, and when it appears to be pretty well covered, it is drawn in with rapidity, and the insects are expeditiously swallowed.—Stuffed specimens of these have also been exhibited.

The Kangaroo (probably from its size) was the principal animal taken notice of this country. Its hair is of a

greyish brown colour, similar to that of the wild rabbit of Great Britain, is thick and long when the animal is old; but it is late in growing, and when only begun to grow, it is like a strong down; however, in some parts it begins earlier than others, as about the mouth, &c. In all of the young Kangaroos yet brought home (although some as large as a full-grown cat), they have all the marks of a foetus; no hair; ears lapped close over the head; no marks on the feet of having been used in progressive motion. The large nail on the great toe sharp at the point; and the sides of the mouth united something like the eye-lids of a puppy just whelped, having only a passage at the anterior part. This union of the two lips on the sides is of a particular structure, it wears off as it grows up, and by the time it is of the size of a small rabbit, disappears.

The teeth of this animal are so singular, that it is impossible, from them, to say what tribe it is of. There is a faint mixture in them, corresponding to those of different tribes of animals. Take the mouth at large, respecting the situation of the teeth, it would class in some degree with the *Scalpris dentata* (of the Rat tribe); in a fainter degree with the Horse, and Ruminants; and with regard to the line of direction of all the teeth, they are very like those of the *Scalpris dentata*. The fore teeth in the upper jaw agree with the Hog; and those in the lower, in number, with the *Scalpris dentata*; but with regard to position, and probably use, with the Hog. The grinders would seem to be a mixture of Hog and Ruminants; the enamel on their external and grinding surfaces, rather formed into several cutting edges, than points.

There are six incisors in the upper jaw, and only two in the lower; but these two are so placed as to oppose those of the upper; five grinders in each side of each jaw, the most anterior of which is small. The proportions of some of the parts of this animal bear no analogy to what is common in most others. The disproportions in the length between the fore legs and the hind are very considerable; also in their

strength; yet perhaps not more than in the Jerboa. This disproportion between the fore legs and the hind is principally in the more adult; for in the very young, about the size of a half grown rat, they are pretty well proportioned; which shews that at the early period of life they do not use progressive motion. The proportions of the different parts of which the hind legs are composed, are very different. The thigh of the Kangaroo is extremely short, and the leg is very long. The hind foot is uncommonly long; on which, to appearance, are placed three toes, the middle toe by much the largest and the strongest, and looks something like the long toe of an ostrich. The outer toe is next in size; and what appears to be the inner toe, is two, inclosed in one skin or covering. The great toe nail much resembles that of an Ostrich, as also the nail of the outer toe; and the inner, which appears to be but one toe, has two small nails, which are bent and sharp. From the heel, along the under side of the foot and toe, the skin is adapted for walking upon.

The fore legs, in the full-grown Kangaroo, are small in proportion to the hind, or the size of the animal; the feet, or hands, are also small; the skin on the palm is different from that on the back of the hand and fingers. There are five toes or fingers on this foot; the middle rather the largest; the others become very gradually shorter, and are all nearly of the same shape. The nails are sharp, fit for holding. The tail is long in the old; but not so long, in proportion to the size of the animal, in the young. It would seem to keep pace with the growth of the hind legs, which are the instruments of progressive motion in this animal; and which would also shew that the tail is a kind of second instrument in this action. The under lip is divided in the middle, each side rounded off at the division. It has two clavicles; but they are short, so that the shoulders are not thrown out.

The Dingo, or Dog, of New South Wales, is like the shepherd's dog in most countries, approaching near to the original of the species, which is the wolf, but is not so large, and

does not stand so high on its legs. The ears are short, and erect, the tail rather bushy; the hair, which is a reddish dun colour, is long and thick, but strait. It is capable of barking, although not so readily as the European dogs; is very ill-natured and vicious, and snarls, howls, and moans, like dogs in common.

Whether this is the only dog in New South Wales, and whether they have it in a wild state, is not mentioned; but it is believed they have no other; in which case it will constitute the wolf of that country; and that which is domesticated is only the wild dog tamed, without having yet produced a variety, as in some parts of America.

The Kangaroo Rat has a head which is flat sideways, but not so much as the true *Scalpris dentata*. The ears are neither long nor short, but much like those of a mouse in proportion to the size of the animal. The fore legs are short in comparison to the hind. There are four toes on the fore feet, the two middle are long, and nearly of equal lengths, with long narrow nails, slightly bent; the two side toes are short, and nearly equal in size, but the outer rather the largest. From the nails on the two middle toes, one would suppose that the animal burrowed. Their hind legs are long, and it is in their power to stand either on the whole foot, or on the toes only.

On the hind legs are three toes, the middle one large, and the two side ones short. The tail is long. The hair on the body is rather thin; it is of two kinds, a fur, and a long hair, which last becomes exterior from its length. The fur is the finest, and is composed of serpentine hairs; the long hair is stronger, and is also serpentine, for more than two-thirds of its length near to the skin, and terminates in a pretty strong pointed end, like the quill of a hedge hog. It is of a brownish grey colour, something like the brown, or grey rabbit, with a tinge of a greenish yellow. It has a pouch on the lower part of the belly, the mouth opens forwards, and the cavity extends backwards to the pubis, where it terminates; on the

abdominal surface of this pouch are four nipples or two pair, each pair placed very near the other.

The Tapha is about the size of a rat, and has very much the appearance of the martin cat, but hardly so long in the body in proportion to its size. The head is flat forwards, and broad from side to side, especially between the eyes and ears; the nose is peaked, and projecting beyond the teeth, which makes the upper jaw appear to be considerably longer than the lower; the eyes are pretty large; the ears broad, especially at their base, not becoming regularly narrower to a point, not with a very smooth edge, and having a small process on the concave, or inner surface, near to the base. It has long whiskers from the sides of the cheeks, which begin forwards, near the nose, by small and short hairs, and become longer and stronger as they approach the eyes. It has very much the hair of a rat, to which it is similar in colour; but near to the setting on of the tail, it is of a lighter brown, forming a broad ring round it. The fore feet are shorter than the hind, but much in the same proportion as those of the rat; the hind feet are more flexible. There are five toes on the fore feet, the middle the largest, falling off on each side equally; but the fore, or inner toe, is rather shortest: they are thin from side to side, the nails are pretty broad, laterly, and thin at their base; not very long but sharp; the animal walks on its whole palm on which there is no hair. The hind feet are pretty long, and have five toes; that which answers to our great toe is very short, and has no nail; the next is the longest in the whole, falling gradually off to the outer toe; the shape of the hind toes is the same as in the fore feet, as are likewise the nails; it walks nearly on the whole foot. The tail is long, and covered with long hair, but not all of the same colour. The teeth of this creature are different from any other animal yet known.

The Hapooná Roo is of the size of a small rabbit; it has a broad flat body, the head a good deal resembles that of the squirrel: the eyes are full, prominent, and large: the ears

broad and thin: its legs short, and its tail very long. Between the fore and hind legs, on each side, is placed a doubling of the skin of the side, which, when the legs are extended laterally, is as it were pulled out, forming a broad lateral wing or fin, and when the legs are made use of in walking, this skin, by its elasticity, is drawn close to the side of the animal, and forms a kind of ridge, on which the hair has a peculiar appearance. In this respect it is very similar to the flying squirrel of America. It has five toes on each fore foot, with sharp nails. The hind foot has also five toes, but differs considerably from the fore foot; one of the toes may be called a thumb, having a broad nail, something like that of the Monkey or Opossum: what answers to the fore and middle toes are united in one common covering, and appear like one toe with two nails; this is somewhat similar to the Kangaroo, the two other toes are in the common form, these four nails are sharp like those on the fore foot. This formation of the foot is well calculated for holding any thing while it is moving its body, or its fore foot, to other parts, a property belonging (probably) to all animals who move from the hind parts; such as the Monkey, Mongoose, Opossum, Parrot, Leech, &c.

Its hair is very thick and long, making a very fine fur, especially on the back. It is of a dark brown grey on the upper part, a light white grey on the lower side of what may be termed the wing, and white on the under surface, from the neck to the parts adjacent to the anus.

The Duke of Northumberland sent over some Teeswater sheep, and one stallion, to Colonel Johnson, which have greatly improved the breed of both. Mr Mac Arthur took over some Merino sheep, from the King's flock, which are thriving, and the wool of which is extremely fine; several samples have been produced in England. The deer of this country, originally from India, thrive very well, but are of the Rein species, and rather inclined to be small; the venison is very good, and of a superior flavour to any set in England,

though not so fat ; the breed might be much improved by a few being sent of a larger quality. Some time ago several made their escape from a park belonging to Mr Harris, who has for many years been surgeon of the regiment there. They were breeding and running wild in the woods.

The New Holland Cassowary stands seven feet high, measuring from the ground to the upper part of his head, and, in every respect, is much larger than the common Cassowary of all authors, and differs so much therefrom, in its form, as to clearly prove it a new species. The colour of the plumage is greatly similar, consisting of a mixture of dirty brown and grey ; on the belly it is somewhat whiter ; and the remarkable structure of the feathers, in having two quills with their webs arising out of one shaft, is seen in this as well as the common sort. It differs materially in wanting the horny appendage on the top of the head. The head and beak are much more like those of the ostrich than the common Cassowary, both in shape and size. Upon the upper part of the head the feathers, with which it is but thinly covered, are very small, looking more like hair than feathers, and in having the neck pretty well clothed with them, except the chin and throat, which are so thinly covered, that the skin, which is there of a purplish colour, may be seen clearly. The small wings are exceedingly short, which form a ridiculous contrast with the body, as they are even less than those of the Cassowary : they have no large quills in them, being only covered with the small feathers that grow all over the body. Another singularity also presents itself in this species, which is in respect to the legs. As to the back part of them, the whole length is indented, or sawed, in a remarkable manner. The toes are three in number, the middle one long, the other two short, not unlike the same part of the common species. On examining the viscera of one brought to the settlement, they differed from that of every other species of the feathered kind which had been seen, particularly in having no gizzard, or second stomach ; and the liver was so very small, that it

did not exceed in size that of a blackbird. To this liver was joined a large gall-bladder, well distended with bile. The crop, or stomach, was filled with at least six or seven pounds of grass, flowers, and a few berries and seeds. The intestinal canal was at least six yards long, very wide, and of a regular cylindrical shape from the opening of the stomach to the vent. The heart and lungs were separated by a diaphragm or midriff, and bore a tolerable proportion to the size of the bird. The flesh of this bird was very good, and tasted not unlike young tender beef.

This bird is supposed to be not uncommon in New Holland, as it has been frequently seen by our Settlers both at Botany Bay and Port Jackson, but is exceedingly shy, and runs faster than a greyhound. One of them however has been shot.

The Banksian Cockatoo. The general colour of this bird is olive, or rusty black; the head feathers pretty long, and about the sides of the head and top of it is a mixture of fine yellow; but none of the feathers are marked with buff at the tips, nor is the under part of the body crossed with buff-colour. In the tail it differs scarcely at all from Mr. Latham's figure.

These birds have been met with in several parts of New Holland.

The Superb Warblers are found in very great variety. They are extremely beautiful and exhibits a variety of the most brilliant colours.

There is a considerable difference in the size of this species; the largest is very blue upon the head; the beak and legs smaller in proportion, darker in colour, and the latter almost black. The head is crowned with a small crest of bright azure; the cheek, and upper part of the back and wings, are of the same colour; the lower parts of each brown. The outer feathers of the wing whitish, near the shoulder marked with brown. The head, neck, and breast deep black; abdomen white, faintly tinged with dusky. Tail black, highly cuneated. In this bird the blue is most lucid, composed of short, stiff feathers, resembling fish-scales, with shining sur-

faces; but it has not the beautiful scapulary of prismatic violet-colour, found in the other. Legs, feet, and claws black, and extremely slender.

The Red Shouldered Paroquet, is a species, which appears to be generally new, is of that sort termed Paroquets. It is about ten inches in length: the general colour of the bird a fine green: the outer edge of the wing, near the shoulders, blue: the edge of the shoulders deep red; the under part the same. On the sides of the body a patch of red: round the beak a few red feathers: long feathers of the wings of a deep blackish blue, edged slightly with yellow: tail deep ferruginous toward the base, each feather becoming blue at the tip: bill and feet pale brown.

The other animals of this country; the numerous, curious, and beautiful birds, which abound there; and the various reptiles which have been discovered, have been already sufficiently described: More of the latter, however, have subsequently been discovered to be of a venomous nature than was formerly conjectured; and the bite of several species of the Coluber, or Snake, have proved, in various instances, fatal, in the course of a very few minutes after the wound has been received. It is to be wished that some mode of cure could be discovered. It is worthy of remark, that at Norfolk Island, a spot where a settlement was made, and which has been subsequently evacuated, about three hundred leagues from the nearest coast of New South Wales, no reptiles of any description are to be found; while at Philip Island, only seven miles from Norfolk Island, several species of reptiles exist in abundance, such as the Centipede, Tarantula, &c.

The vegetable productions of this country are not less various and curious. The Peppermint tree grows to the height of more than an hundred feet, and is above thirty feet in circumference. The bark is very smooth, like that of the poplar. The younger branches are long and slender, angulated near the top, but as they grow older the angles disappear. Their bark is smooth, and of a reddish brown. The leaves are

alternate, lanceolate, pointed, very entire, smooth on both sides, and remarkably unequal, or oblique, at their base; the veins alternate and not very conspicuous. The whole surface of both sides of the leaves is marked with numerous minute resinous spots, in which the essential oil resides. The foot-stalks are about half an inch in length, round on the under side, angular above, quite smooth. The flowers we have not seen.

The name of Peppermint Tree has been given to this plant by Mr. White, the surgeon, on account of the similarity between the essential oil drawn from its leaves, and that obtained from the Peppermint (*Mentha Piperita*) which grows in England. This oil was found by Mr. White to be much more efficacious in removing all cholicky complaints than that of the English Peppermint, which he attributes to its being less pungent and more aromatic. A quart of the oil has been sent by him to Mr. Wilson, the botanist.

The Red Gum Tree. This is a very large and lofty tree, much exceeding the English Oak in size. The wood is extremely brittle, and, from the large quantity of resinous gum which it contains, is of little use but for firewood. Of the leaves Mr. White has given no account, nor sent any specimens. On making incisions in the trunk of this tree, large quantities of red resinous juice are obtained, sometimes even more than sixty gallons from a single tree. When this juice is dried, it becomes a very powerfully astringent gum-resin, of a red colour, much resembling that known in the shops by the name of Kino, and, for all medical purposes, fully as efficacious. Mr. White administered it to a great number of patients in the dysentery, which often prevailed, soon after the landing of the convicts, and in no one instance found it to fail. This gum-resin dissolves almost entirely in spirit of wine, to which it gives a blood red tincture. Water dissolves about one sixth part only, and the watery solution is of a bright red. Both these solutions are powerfully astringent.

The Yellow Resin Tree. This is about the size of an English walnut tree. Its trunk grows pretty straight for about fourteen or sixteen feet, after which it branches out into long spiral leaves, which hang down on all sides, and resemble those of the larger kinds of grass or sedge. From the center of the head of leaves arises a single footstalk, eighteen or twenty feet in height, perfectly straight and erect, very much resembling the sugar cane, and terminating in a spike of a spiral form, not unlike an ear of wheat. This large stem or footstalk is used by the natives for making spears and fish gigs, being pointed with the teeth of fish or other animals, some of which are represented, in the plate of Implements, from originals now in Mr. Wilson's possession.

But the most valuable produce of this plant seems to be its resins, the properties of which vie with those of the most fragrant balsams. This resin exudes spontaneously from the trunk; the more readily, if incisions are made in its bark. It is of a yellow colour; fluid at first, but being inspissated in the sun, it acquires a solid form. Burnt on hot coals, it emits a smell very much resembling that of a mixture of balsam of Tolu and benzoin, somewhat approaching to storax. It is perfectly soluble in spirit of wine, but not in water, nor even in essential oil of turpentine, unless it be digested in a strong heat. The varnish which it makes with either is very weak, and of little use. With respect to its medicinal qualities, Mr. White has found it, in many cases, a good pectoral medicine, and very balsamic. It is not obtainable in so great abundance as the red gum produced by the *Eucalyptus resinifera*.

The plant which produces the yellow gum seems to be perfectly unknown to botanists, but Mr. White has communicated no specimens by which its genus or even class could be determined.

Sweet tea, is a creeping kind of vine, running to a great extent along the ground; the stalk is not so thick as the smallest honey-suckle; nor is the leaf so large as the com-

men bay leaf, though something similar to it; and the taste is sweet, exactly like the liquorice root of the shops. Of this the convicts and soldiers make an infusion which is tolerably pleasant, and serves as no bad succedaneum for tea. Indeed were it to be met with in greater abundance, it would be found very beneficial to those poor creatures, whose constant diet is salt provisions. "In using it for medical purposes," says, Dr. White, "I have found it to be a good pectoral, and, as I before observed, not at all unpleasant. There is also a kind of shrub in this country resembling the common broom; which produces a small berry like a white currant, but, in taste, more similar to a very sour green gooseberry. This has proved a good antiscorbutic; but I am sorry to add, that the quantity to be met with is far from sufficient to remove the scurvy. That disorder still prevails with great violence, nor can at present find any remedy against it, notwithstanding that the country produces several sorts of plants and shrubs, which, in this place, are considered as tolerable vegetables, and used in common. The most plentiful, is a plant growing on the sea shore, greatly resembling sage. Among it are often to be found samphire, and a kind of wild spinage, besides a small shrub which was distinguished by the name of the vegetable tree, and the leaves of which prove rather a pleasant substitute for vegetables."

Black and white mottled Fern tree was found at the head of Lane Cove, by Colonel Paterson, about five years since; but it does not run to any considerable size. It is esteemed a very handsome wood for the purposes of veneering.

The Spice tree has also been found to the southward: It is a very strong aromatic, and possesses a more pungent quality than pepper. This tree produces a berry, which, as well as the bark, is of a very powerful spicy nature.

Fustic has been discovered at Newcastle—a wood which makes the finest yellow dye; but it has been hitherto confined to New South Wales. Indigo was also found in different parts of the country; but, after a thorough trial of its pro-

- perties by a French gentleman of much patience and experience, as well as by some other individuals of research, it was found impossible to derive any benefit from it.

Native green currants grow wildly, and make an uncommonly fine jelly. A wild cherry is also found in the settlement, growing with the stone on the outside, of a red colour, but nearly unfit to eat; as also a wild fig, equally nauseous, full of seed, but eaten by the natives. Strawberries grow to fine perfection; but no English currant, gooseberry, or cherry trees, are to be seen in the country: some were brought from England by Captain Kent, of the royal navy, and were in a flourishing state, with some gingers, from Rio de Janeiro, when a fire happened upon that Gentleman's farm, and consumed the whole, which has been a very great loss to the colony. Pines, far exceeding in size those of England, are now growing there, but they are scarce; melons, on the contrary, are very large and plentiful. Botany Bay greens are procured in abundance; they much resemble sage in appearance, and are esteemed a very good dish by the Europeans, but despised by the natives. The bark of a tree called Carajong, which grows like a willow, is manufactured into ropes of considerable strength. A single nectarine tree only has been known to bear fruit, which is in the Government Garden. Some coffee trees were planted by a Frenchman (Mons. Declambe), but he unfortunately died before he could bring them to perfection.

The shrubs and plants of this country are all evergreens, and numbers of them are to be seen, covered with beautiful blossoms, at all seasons of the year. Jeraniums flourish in such abundance, that, in various parts of the settlement, they are made into hedges, and are so thick as to be almost impenetrable; they are always in leaf and flower, and emit an odour of the most fragrant nature, perfuming the surrounding atmosphere.

Cedar, and coals, of a very fine quality, are the produce of the Newcastle district, and are procured with very little

trouble. Manna has also been found near Port Dalrymple, made by the locusts on the trees, from which it drops in very considerable quantities. But the most prizable subjects which have been discovered here are, the valuable stones ; of which the white, yellow, and large brilliant Topazes, are considered of far greater worth than those which are produced in any part of the Brazils ; since it was confessed, when at Rio Janeiro, in the month of August, 1809, by a number of gentlemen of the best information, amongst whom were the Marquis de Pomball and the Judge Consalvadore, that none which had been found on that coast, could bear a comparison with those of New Holland.

The buildings are of stone, brick, and lath and plaister ; weather-boarded ; and the houses are durable. There are two churches ; one St. Philip's, which possesses a very handsome service of communion plate, presented by his Majesty, and received by the Calcutta, on the 8th of October, 1808 ; and the other, St. John's, at Parramatta : There are likewise a school and chapel at Hawkesbury, where divine service is performed. Two jails have also been erected in the colony. A house has been built for the governor at each of the principal settlements ; which also possess several very commodious barracks, with many other public buildings, and a great number of extensive and handsome houses, the property of private individuals. There are a stone bridge, and several very substantial wooden ones, which, if not celebrated for beauty, are found extremely serviceable, and well calculated for all the present purposes of the colony, which is not yet sufficiently advanced in prosperity to prefer ornament to use. A new stone citadel is in a course of building, on which the Royal Standard, for the first time in these settlements, was hoisted on the 4th of June, 1803 ; and several batteries are erected.

The Governor's house is built of brick, plastered over, and has very convenient stables and outhouses, and is a very pleasant and comfortable residence ; the garden and shrub-

very extend to about four acres. In the garden is a *Pine* tree growing of amazing height and thickness; the knots from this tree are used instead of flambeaux, and burn remarkably well. Adjoining are the military barracks, built of brick, and forming a square. The largest of which was erected by Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux: This is an extensive well-built place, and was finished in far less time than any building ever begun upon by government in that settlement, considering its magnitude. Near this place is an extensive Government Granary, having nine windows in front on each floor: it was built of brick and plastered over, under the direction of his excellency Governor Hunter. Attached to this building, on the right, is a very useful military store, and on the left a store for the issue of provisions.

The Church is a plain neat stone building, and has a peal of eight bells therein, but they are not very harmonious. The Orphan House is built of brick, and belongs to Granham Blaxcell, Esq. whose zeal for the colony, and whose industry have equally entitled him to the praise and esteem of all. Many of the warehouses belonging to private individuals are extremely commodious and extensive; but the most magnificent dwelling-house in the colony belongs to Mr. Simon Lord. At Campbells' wharf, a ship of large dimensions can load or unload with any tide. The General Hospitals are behind the Government Dock Yard, from which is a road leading on the hill, and takes various directions to the houses and streets on the rocks.

From the west side of the Cove there is a most extensive and grand view. One side of the land which is farthest seen, is the Harbour; and on the other, is an amazing expanse of sea. There is a carriage-road made from Sydney to the extreme point, which is South Head, and a great many carriages and horsemen frequently go down there to spend the day, or to see any vessels which may appear off the land. On South Head are, a Flag-staff, a Lookout-house, and an Obelisk; and betwixt it and the North Head, is a narrow

entrance, by which vessels enter the port, about seven miles from Sydney. The small island in the centre is called Pinch-gut, which name originated from some persons being placed there on an allowance of provisions for some offence, where they built an oven, the remains of which are yet to be seen : At this time there is a man named Brown, before spoken of, hung in chains on this spot, for committing several murders. The other islands, between these and the heads, are called Garden, Shark's, and Clark's Islands. On the land to the right of Pinch-gut, called Bennillong's Point, the native of that name, who was once in England, had a hut built by government ; but he soon left it, and it was destroyed: There are also the remains of a battery there.

The bridge, the only one built of stone in the whole colony, is a very bad structure. The road on the other side of the bridge is called Spring-row ; it leads to several streets, and joins the main road to Parramatta, &c. ; below the paling of which there are very large Tanks, cut in rocks, to supply the town and shipping with water ; but there is another watering-place for ships on the north side of the Cove, very commodious, and the permission to use which produces a small annual income to the Orphan fund. The rows, commencing above the foot of the bridge, on the east side, are called Chapel, Pitt's, and Serjeant-Major's rows, the latter of which, runs to the Brick-fields, towards Parramatta.

Over the south creek at Hawkesbury a floating bridge has been erected, which has proved greatly beneficial to the public ; since, previous to its completion, every person who had occasion to go to that settlement, and in many cases from one farm to another, was obliged to pass to and fro in a boat. As this bridge was constructed by an individual (Mr. Andrew Thompson, a settler) at his own expense, the following tolls are allowed to be demanded :—For every foot-passenger, fourpence, or ten shillings per annum ; for each horse, single or in draught, two shillings and sixpence, or two pounds ten shillings per annum ; for waggons, or other four-wheel carri-

ages, with not more than half a ton lading, one shilling and sixpence, or one pound ten shillings per annum ; for carts, or carriages with two wheels, laden or not, each one shilling and sixpence, or one pound ten shillings per annum ; for sheep, under a score, two-pence each, and by the score two shillings and sixpence, or two pounds ten shillings per annum ; swine and goats, the same as sheep. Passengers, horses, carts, and carriages, are allowed to pass and repass, during the same day, with one ticket ; and a considerable income is derived from this toll.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Circumstances and Causes which have retarded the Improvement of the Colony—Public Buildings—Waste of Stores—Private Individuals hiring Convicts—Task Work—Imprisonment for Debt—Orphan Children—Monopoly of imported Goods—Excessive Profits arising from Traffic—Extraordinary Allowances—Abuses in the Medical Department—Expences of dependant Settlements.

HAVING thus traced the progress of the colony and its present state, we shall proceed to add such hints respecting its future improvement as naturally arise from a review of the foregoing statement. A late writer, to whom we have before referred, has given some very essential information on this interesting subject. As a great variety of opinion exist on the policy of establishing and continuing to support this settlement, it becomes a question of great national importance, both as it relates to the administration of justice, and to the power and finances of this country.

That a period of twenty-two years has not been sufficient to render New South Wales independant of the mother country, is a reflection which must produce strong and ungenial suspicions of the prudence of those methods which have been pursued to accelerate such a desirable end ; and the continu-

ance of the late system, the inefficiency of which has been amply illustrated by recent events, and facts which are incontrovertible, is, of all evils, the most sincerely to be deprecated and guarded against. Of the capability of the settlement to produce adequate means for the subsistence of its members, there can be but a single opinion amongst persons who are enabled, from experience, to judge of the nature and fertility of the soil; and it must, consequently, form an evident conclusion, that some unnatural check must have sprung up to impede the ordinary course of proceedings. The object, however, is not to deprecate the opinions of others, but to give to the public those ideas of improvement which naturally arise, and which have been confirmed by the approbation of others, who are equally or better qualified to decide upon this important subject.

Complaints having been made by the government of the expenses of the colony, which have accumulated, rather than diminished, with the increasing growth of the settlement, we shall first enter into a statement of the causes of this augmented expense, part of which, as we shall hope to demonstrate with clearness, has arisen out of the nature of things, and the other part may be attributed to various causes.

1st. As to the retarded-progress of public buildings, and diminution in the labour of the convicts.—This decrease in the quantity of labour performed, is to be attributed to the natural falling-off in the strength of the convicts employed in government labour, from deaths, desertions, and their becoming free. Those who were first sent to the colony, and had been originally transported for seven and fourteen years, had served their times, the former in 1793, and the latter in 1800; numbers had been released from their servitude on account of their exemplary behaviour, or of services done to the colony; and all who became settlers being allowed one, two, or more convicts to assist in the cultivation of the tract assigned to them, the reduction in those who laboured for the crown must necessarily have been very considerable, and must still continue

in an increasing degree, owing to the great numbers of free settlers who have been allowed to go out from England, many of whom have only been a great expense to government, and an hindrance to the settlement. From a correct estimation taken in the year 1800, it was ascertained that three-fourths of the convicts employed in the service of government at the close of 1792, had been subsequently discharged. From that period to the year 1800, 1259 new male convicts arrived, effective and non-effective, a number which was insufficient to fill up the deficiencies occasioned by those who had obtained their liberations in consequence of having completed their terms of servitude, and the emancipations which have taken place, the number of which together amounted to 1264, without including the deaths, casualties, and escapes, which may be taken at an equal number; nor were there more employed by the crown than 710 when Governor King was succeeded in the command of the colony (although a great many had arrived between those periods), including the vast numbers allowed to officers, settlers, and others, and but few of the remainder were either mechanics or persons adapted to the improvement of the colony; therefore from these causes it must be evident to every rational mind, that the progress of the colony towards perfection and prosperity has, in fact, been as rapid as could be expected, considering the circumstances of the settlement; and an opinion of a contrary nature must have been grounded upon an exaggerated estimate of the means which existed, and an intire ignorance of the due proportion which they have borne to the labour required at their hands.

2dly. As to the expenditure of the stores which were forwarded to the colony, in the interval which elapsed from the departure of Governor Phillip, in December, 1792, to the arrival of Governor Hunter, in December, 1795.—It has been subsequently ascertained, that in this lapse of two years and three-quarters, a sufficiency of stores had been received to supply the real wants of the settlement for a period nearly

thrice as long; whereas as the whole was expended, the store-houses were found empty at the arrival of the latter governor from England. In consequence of the profusion which had thus been practised, although it might at that time be deemed needful, his excellency Governor Hunter was reduced to the necessity of purchasing new stores at an expensive market, where every advantage was taken of the necessity which had induced the demand, and the most exorbitant prices were charged for each article. It is understood from very good authority, that two pounds were paid for a pair of men's shoes, and thirty shillings for women's; tobacco was forty shillings per lb.; soap twelve shillings, and sugar eight shillings; a beaver hat and a coarse jacket, fetched five pounds each, and every other article in an equal proportion. A great deal of time was also lost in endeavouring to make implement of husbandry, mechanical tools, and other requisites of a similar description. The reduced state of the colony at this period was also rendered still more deplorable, by the neglect of the government in England to comply with the urgent requisitions of Governor Hunter for such supplies as were necessary. The exhaustion of the stores of clothing and beds and blankets, assisted to fill the hospital with patients, and rendered the purchase of these articles absolutely indispensable at any price, and on any terms on which they might be procured. It is supposed, that the backwardness which displayed itself at this time in the government to dispatch the stores which were demanded, arose from a conviction that the supplies which had been previously sent in such abundance were sufficiently ample for all the immediate wants of the colony, and, consequently, that the pressure of necessity could not be so great as was represented; for it was not to be expected that those officers who administered the government of the colony, on the arrival of their successors, would depict the situation of the settlement, and the state of the stores, in any other than in a favourable light, particularly to his Majesty's ministers at home; a line of conduct which tended com-

siderably to enhance the mischiefs which had been already showered upon the inhabitants, by the perhaps too liberal distribution which had been displayed in the issuing of the various necessaries during their administration.

3dly. As to the custom of allowing to settlers a certain number of convicts, for years, to assist in the tillage, and continuing to victual those servants out of the public stores,—it is clear from what follows, that much evil has arisen, from the unrestrained issue of this indulgence. The original object of this grant was, to enable the young farmer to clear the tract which was assigned to him, and to bring it into a condition which would enable it to produce a maintenance for its possessor; then he was required to take the convicts which he thought it necessary to retain, entirely off the public stores, and to victual and clothe them at his own cost. The abuse of this indulgence, however, has arisen from the extension of its advantages to an unlimited term; so that the farmer is interested in retarding the efforts which he might otherwise be induced to make for the improvement of his land, in order to save himself from the burden of supporting his servants; and thus a spirit of indolence is promoted, and the original intention of the measure is totally perverted. The continuance of this pernicious system, previous to the administration of Governor Hunter, had induced the settlers to look upon it as a right, rather than an indulgence. Numbers of useful mechanics, whose services might have been turned to advantage, in the exercise of their different professions for the public benefit, were thus given to those who cultivated lands, until their term was expired; and no sooner did they recover their freedom, than they quitted the service of government for more lucrative employments; the consequence was, artificers at a high price were to be hired by the governor, to build those store-houses which might have been erected before, and to repair the towns of Paramatta and Toongabbee, which were falling into ruins, on account of the necessary repairs having been neglected at a proper season: This was a new expence.

entailed upon the government, and many thousands were expended, which foresight and prudent policy might have saved.

Another cause of superfluous expense to the crown, was to be found in the employment of the convicts to perform the public service by task-work, which was completed by nine or ten o'clock in the morning, and thus left the hands free to assist in the cultivation of those tracts of land which had been granted to different descriptions of persons. Thus was the government labour protracted in a most shameful degree; the labour of little more than a week requiring the lapse of a month to complete it; and thus, also, several were induced, by their attention to their individual interests, to neglect the service of the colony. The consequence of this innovation was, the rapid clearing and cultivation of such persons' estates, and the erection of comfortable residences and the acquisition of further accommodations, which they must otherwise have waited some time to obtain; while the buildings which were required to be raised for the security of the stores, and for other purposes of equal necessity, were greatly retarded. It is certain also that this conduct tended to relax the discipline which ought to have been rigidly preserved amongst the convicts, and produced a general carelessness of the general interest; and it was not without some difficulty that Governor Hunter succeeded in the adoption of a contrary line of behaviour. Habits of dissipation and indolence resulted from this pernicious mode of bartering the public for individual interest, which had taken such deep root, as to render their complete eradication matter of the most extreme difficulty: The encroachments on the hours of labour for the crown has, however, been done away by Governor Hunter, and a more regular system has been adopted in the allowance of convicts and other indulgences to settlers, &c. by order of the Secretary of State, since his excellency's departure.

The custom of imprisoning for debt those persons who are employed in the public service, constitutes the 5th article of

notice; and this practise had been carried to such a pitch, that dealers would readily give credit to convicts, or any servants of the crown, under the idea that they might sue the amount, and imprison them, or obtain the benefit of their labour until the debt was liquidated. The necessities of the convicts frequently compelled them to seek for credit, and thus to throw themselves into the power of those iniquitous designers. In consequence of the prevalence of this practice many of the convicts were immured continually, and thus the public was deprived of their services; since they preferred remaining indolently in confinement to making those complaints to the governor, which would have led to their release, and reinstation in their former situations of labour. Governor Hunter no sooner made himself acquainted with the mischievous extent to which this conduct was carried, than he published an order, in which he prohibited every person in trade from "crediting the servants of the crown, under the plea of their being at liberty to imprison their persons; if such credit was given, it was to be understood as being done at the risk of the creditor, on the good faith he entertained of the integrity of the persons he so entrusted, but that the public should not be deprived of the labour of its servants for the partial accommodation of individuals." This order was dated the 4th of October, 1798, three years after the return of Governor Hunter to the administration of his high and responsible office; and the regulation was justified by the situation of the colony, and the abuses which had sprung out of the custom. After the publication of this order, however, many persons were committed to prison for debt, whose situation, as convicts, exempted them from incarceration; but this apparent breach of the regulation was entirely attributable to the ignorance of the court which had thus decided, that the person against whom their warrant was directed, was at the time a bond-servant, and, consequently, within the reach of this clause. Whenever a commitment of this description came to the governor's knowledge (which was

always the case in a few days, when the report of the prisoners for debt was delivered to him), the delinquent was immediately enlarged, since his confinement was illegal, as contrary to the order which had been published on the subject.

Another cause of expence, comprising the 6th in this enumeration, arose out of the number of orphan children in the settlement, who were allowed full ration and clothing at the charge of government. This evil has, however, experienced a very natural reduction, from the judicious measures adopted by Governor Huster, who laid the foundation of a fund for the benefit of these orphans; the consequence of which has been, the completion of a school for the education and maintenance of female children of that description, and which is now supported by various imposts upon merchandize, and other taxation or fines for certain offences against the general orders. The children embraced by this charity are not simply the offspring of deceased parents, but such other children, also, as have been left unprovided for, by the desertion of those whose duty it was to foster them, or for the circumstance of their being found to be worthless and profligate characters, or by their having betrayed a carelessness and indifference as to their moral improvement; and it said, that there is every appearance of a great good arising from this foundation, by rescuing from infamy and shame, and bringing up to a life of virtue and industry, a number of fine young girls, whom it is earnestly hoped will strive to repay the paternal care that has been taken of them in their juvenile days, by a strict adherence to every pure inclination as they rise in age, and a grateful remembrance of those from whom their happiness had sprung.

7thly. The establishment of a most injurious monopoly amongst the inhabitants of the settlement, which has tended to the ruin of fair trade.—The commencement of this baleful system is traced back to the administration of Governor Philip. In a very scarce period, when all classes were labouring under every kind of privation, the officers prayed leave of the

governor to charter the ship *Britannia* for the Cape of Good Hope, to bring back cattle and other articles on their account, for which speculation a considerable sum was subscribed in equal shares. The governor assented to the proposition, in consequence of the peculiar state of the colony at that time; but scarcely had the *Britannia* sailed upon her voyage, when the governor, having received leave of absence, left the settlement, and the government immediately changed its form, from a naval to a military system. In consequence of this variation, permission was readily obtained for the disposal of the cargo thus imported on its arrival, and after its passing through the hands of the importers, the chief part of the merchandize produced from 1000*l.* to 2000*l.* per cent. to the private retailer. These extraordinary advantages could but be attended with evil and destructive consequences to the settlement at large; nor does the system of monopoly, which was so early introduced in the colony, cease to spread its baleful influence; by which means the settlers, who were deserving of the most marked encouragement and indulgence, still remain in far less affluent circumstances than they otherwise might have been. This topic deserves serious attention, and the mild hand of legislative authority, to check its further pernicious effects.

Having spoken thus on the subject of monopoly, which, in a future period, shall be fully established, and which has occasioned the sacrifice of the public to individual interest, we shall now proceed to advert, 8thly, to the loss which the government has sustained in the dereliction of some of its most valuable servants, who have been allured, by the rapid fortunes made by several individuals, to quit the service of the public, and to embark in traffic. The inferior officers of the settlement, and the non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiment, have been infected with the itch for dealing; and many of the settlers themselves have either disposed of their farms or deserted them, to obtain the means or the leisure to devote themselves to a species of dealing which never failed

to turn to good account. Many who had also served their terms of transportation, instead of remaining to aid the public service, withdrew themselves from the stores, and turned their thoughts to trade. The consequence of this universal inclination to one object, and that of such an evil nature, being chiefly confined to the sale of spirits, soon became obvious in the desertion of those farms which had been previously tilled with so much advantage, and in the neglect of all duties, whether of a public or private nature. The immense profits made by this pursuit served as a new stimulus to its continuance: One dealer was known to have cleared twelve hundred pounds sterling in four weeks, and chiefly by the sale of spirits; and an inhabitant of the lowest order, who commenced dealing with five pounds, has been known to realize five hundred pounds in the course of six months. It must naturally be inferred, that the most base imposition must have been practised to render this business so extremely lucrative, and the article itself must have been diluted away to excessive weakness; but while the temptation remained so strong, it is not to be wondered at that such numbers of persons, in a colony of this or any other description, should be found to quit every other object for a free and full pursuit of one so full of attraction. Many of the convicts soon acquired property in this way, and some of those who had been in that unfortunate situation, by their good conduct are now considered as respectable characters, and are in possession of horses, carriages, and servants, with a sufficiency to secure their independence during the remainder of their lives. The military have also made considerable wealth by the same course, and the consequence was the instilment into every bosom of a consciousness of independence, which was fatal to that strict subordination which ought to be maintained and enforced. Non-commissioned officers were the principal actors in this department, and being connected by the ties of common interest, they formed a combination which interfered with the middle class of inhabitants, since they could get on board any vessels on

account of their rank, which gave them the privilege of doing so, without being under the necessity of obtaining a written pass for that purpose. The principle of allowing a servant to enter into traffic, is fraught with the most serious mischief; since he is not only led to neglect the duties he has undertaken to perform, but gradually becomes independent in his feelings and opinions, and substitutes insolence of conduct for the respect which ought to mark his behaviour. The value of an article also becomes greatly enhanced to the consumer, when it is permitted to pass through so many hands, each individual of whom must place upon it a profit which he deems adequate to the labour on his ingenuity. Allowing liberty to a prisoner to pursue this kind of avocation is productive of another evil; it leads him, by gradual steps, from becoming careless of his proper duty, to the assumption of a degree of importance and independence which induces him to place himself above his master, and thus controverts the natural and necessary distinctions of society. This traffic has also originated numerous frauds of a pecuniary description, amongst which may be mentioned, as the most notorious, the custom of indorsing notes of hand over to persons, without receiving any consideration for the same, and thus making them the plaintiffs in the suits which they were permitted to institute. From all these practices it has resulted, that numerous settlers have been induced to neglect or quit their farms, which, with industrious management, were competent to the supply of all their necessary wants, and thus to diminish the means of procuring subsistence for the colony; and they have become dissatisfied with a country, which is capable of being made the most lovely and prolific in the world. Amongst the inhabitants, also, was introduced the vice of gaming—a natural consequence of the astonishing increase of wealth in men of little principle and no economy; drunkenness was the ready way to this crime, and so addicted were many of every class of society to it, that they scrupled not, after losing the property which they possessed, to stake

that which they did not possess. Some persons, however, either favoured by fortune, or possessing more prudence than their unfortunate companions, contrived to retain the property they had gained, and by applying it to traffic are now in a state of affluence of which few persons can form an accurate conception.

The 9th item of expence is to be found in the provisions and spirits issued to parties on command; a custom which has been esteemed proper and necessary in cases where such parties have been employed in particular services for the public benefit, and in no other cases have they been issued during the administrations of governors Phillip and Hunter. These services were of various descriptions, parties being frequently detached in pursuit of those who had absconded, either into the woods, or had carried off boats, and endeavoured to escape over the ocean; others were oftentimes employed in excursions into the interior, to obtain a more perfect and comprehensive acquaintance with the nature and production of the country; others again were sent, at times, to reconnoitre the herds of cattle, to remark their progress, and see that no attempts were made to destroy such an useful resource; the inspection of the various settlements also occupied some detachments; small divisions were dispatched to cruise and survey the coast; and the crews of colonial vessels, which were engaged in going to and from the Hawkesbury, as well as to the more distant settlements, were in the habit of receiving these extra supplies, as they had no other means of increasing their common allowance, when such augmentation was necessary: Certain customary rations were also given to the settlers while they were employed in making and repairing the different roads which led to the settlements, and at which periods they received allowances in proportion to the number of days during which their services were required. It had also been usual to give one pint of spirits weekly to each of the clerks employed in the offices of the governor, secretary, commissioner, and judge advocate: a similar portion

was also issued to the constables of the crown and overseers ; and also to such constables of districts as were chosen out of the inhabitants who were not prisoners, and who, with their families, were victualled from the public stores ; but some of these have been subsequently done away with, being considered by Governor King as a superfluous addition to the already excessive expenses of the colony. There are also many other occasional duties, the persons employed in which would be entitled to the allowances, from a sense of their indispensable necessity, since it is sufficiently evident that men who are called upon and expected to perform services of more than common exertion, must receive additional means of increasing their physical strength, and of enabling them to execute the task assigned to them.

A 10th cause of loss to the crown, and of the expenses of the colony, resulted from the abuses formerly practised in the medical department of the colony ; amongst which it was customary to screen the convalescent labourers in the Hospital, and to employ them for individual benefit, so that the patients were thus kept under the hands of medical men longer than was requisite for the establishment of their health : An imposition of this nature called for immediate steps on the part of the governor, but unfortunately his excellency Governor Hunter did not receive information of this iniquitous practice until he had delivered up his executive power and was embarked, or otherwise he expressed his determination to have put a stop to the disgraceful proceeding ; it has, however, subsequently been done away with. At one time, it was ascertained, there were forty or fifty convicts who were thus kept in the Hospital, and were employed by a medical man in the furtherance of his private interests, and such other occupations as he marked out for them, to the loss of eleven pounds five shillings a day to the crown. Such a circumstance as this, from a quarter so totally unexpected, afforded an additional proof of the general disposition which prevailed amongst almost every class of society to push their individual

interest, to the detriment of the public service ; and, instead of giving their full assistance to promote the prosperity of the colony, to retard its progress, and make its necessities the source of their profit.

The 11th cause of loss to the crown, and of the expenses to the colony, arises from the dependant settlements within the limits of the territory ; and although the government at the River Derwent and Port Dalrymple are allowed to draw separate Treasury bills for their internal expenses, yet, the quantity of wheat, maize, salt provisions, slop clothing, and other stores, it is absolutely necessary to send from the principal seat of government to those places, added to the conveyance and other unavoidable charges, enhances the expences at Sydney to an amount that no person would believe but such as have had an opportunity of being an eye-witness to the mode in which such immense sums are disposed of, or upon strictly investigating the voluminous official documents which are transmitted from that colony. As the accounts of the expence of the settlement at Newcastle are wholly included in those at Port Jackson, it is unnecessary to make any regular estimate thereon ; but it must be evident, that where the subsistence of such distant places chiefly depend upon a settlement but a short time colonized, the expences must be very considerable, and the supplies must be given out and used with the greatest caution, to prevent the necessity of applying to a market where their charges are generally exorbitant, and in most cases optional.

The last source of expence to the government which we shall mention, and which, although now also done away, has been the means of an astonishing increase in the expenditure of the colony. From the fertility of its soil, Norfolk Island was for some time considered a great acquisition to the principal settlement ; but subsequent experience had proved the futility of this idea, since the price of grain, instead of lowering in proportion to the additional trouble bestowed on the cultivation of the soil, remained the same just before its con-

cuation as it had been eight years before. As a place for raising swine this island, indeed, might have proved of much utility, if the establishment there had been almost entirely reduced, and the attention of the colony had been confined to this subject, and to the curing of pork for the consumption of all the other settlements ; but as this method was not adopted, it proved, from the time of its establishment, a continual check upon the prosperity of the principal colony, draining those resources which ought to have been applied to different purposes, where the hope and probability of some recompense, adequate to the expense, might have been more sanguine, and less unlikely. Norfolk Island, so far from returning any proportionate recompense for those supplies, had not, in the course of thirteen years, sent to New South Wales property of any description exceeding in value 2000*l.* ; during which period all the expenses of that island were included in the general account of the whole country with the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury. So far from being in itself a flourishing colony, Governor Hunter, who called there in his way to England in 1800, found that the whole of the public, and numbers of private erections, were in a most miserable condition ; and his excellency declared that he had scarcely seen a negrotown in the West Indies with half such a wretched appearance. The grain here and there displayed a promising appearance, and swine were in some considerable number ; but the coast was dangerous, Governor Hunter being himself once wrecked upon it in the *Sirius*, and nearly lost with all his ship's crew ; and this circumstance is calculated to deter vessels from touching at the island in quest of wood and water, which are both plentiful, but which may be procured in equal abundance in any of the other islands of the Pacific Ocean where there are fewer rocks and breakers to contend with, and where the acquiescence of the natives might easily be purchased. In addition to the above obstacles and inauspicious appearances, vessels at this place have no anchorage, but are obliged always to keep under sail ; and ships

have been known to be blown off the island for several weeks together, with very little provision on board whilst a part of the crew have been on shore; and by those means not only a considerable loss has accrued to the merchants or owners, but the lives of a number of fellow-creatures have been exposed to the most imminent danger.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

On the Means of improving the Colony—The Governor to be carefully selected—The Farmers encouraged—Government to decline farming—Foreign Trade ought to be cherished—The Necessity of establishing a Post-Office—Attention recommended to the Clothing, Stores, and Provisions sent by Government—Necessity of an Alteration in the Method of conveying Convicts from England.

To the causes detailed in the preceding chapter it may be attributed that the colony of New South Wales has not made a more rapid progress towards independence, but has so long hung, as it were, upon the breast, and derived its sole nourishment from the food, of the mother country. To raise the settlements from this state of dependence; to expunge from its early page that stain which must be affixed to it by remoter ages; to stimulate its growth, and impel it along the path which leads to greatness, must be the object, the desire, and the hope, of every one who feels an interest in its prosperity.

It must be obvious to any man of reason, that the early days of a colony require as much attention and assistance as human infancy, and that a course of improper and unskilful treatment at the outset must undoubtedly lay the foundation of future imbecility and ultimate destruction. Much evil has already been done in the settlement, but it is not yet too late to apply the remedy; the malady which threatens the existence of the colony has not yet attained to an incurable height, and if the proper measures are adopted, prosperity and hap-

piness may be seen, where adversity and apprehension are at present discovered; and the seeds of a new and powerful nation may not be doomed to perish, before they have scarcely broken the ground which was intended for the scene of their growth and expansion. We shall, however, proceed to suggest those ideas of improvement which have been suggested by those most intimately acquainted with the subject.

To facilitate the rise of New South Wales to a state of consequence and independence, its interests must be entrusted to a governor who has no private or mercenary views, and will seek after nothing but the welfare of the colony; who will thoroughly support the trust and honour reposed in him, as the representative of our most gracious Sovereign; who will not treat, nor suffer others to treat, the officers serving under him with indignity; who will not study the rapid rise of one man, and the sudden downfall of another, but will administer, and cause justice to be administered, impartially to all descriptions of persons, and only shew his favour to those whose conduct is such as to merit his distinguished notice. Under such a man, the industrious settlers should receive the most liberal encouragement to induce them to pay every attention to the cultivation of their lands and to the rearing of stock. It is certain, that when the price of grain has been reduced under ten shillings a bushel for wheat, five shillings for maize and barley, and four shillings and six pence for oats, the grower has very frequently been a loser, without admitting that in the course of the season there had been ~~any~~ flood, blight, insect, or rust, to injure the growing crops. This is corroborated by Mr Mann from the general knowledge he has of the country, having taken the general measure there for a number of years, and from the concurrent opinions of several of the first and most independent farmers, throughout the settlement; nor can any man who is acquainted with the exorbitant wages demanded by every class of labourers, who are not prisoners assigned by the crown to their employers, in that part of the world, and the great diffi-

culties attending the various occupations he has to encounter before his grain can be brought to the market, judge otherwise. The government stores should also be open at all times to receive the grain, which would not only enable the commissioner to send the requisite supplies to the dependent settlements, but would also afford a powerful security against the fatal and frequent losses which are occasioned by the floods, so destructive to property of every description, but more particularly to the grain; and it would also set aside the necessity of issuing short allowance to those prisoners who are necessarily supported by the crown, by which means government labour is sometimes retarded, in consequence of the reduction from the hours of work in proportion to the diminution in the weekly ration.

If government were also to decline farming, it would excite a greater degree of deservance in the settlers, and would, eventually disburden the crown of a very considerable expense, as those employed in agriculture, on the government account, are generally that description of persons who only care how little they work, and are equally as different as to the manner in which their labour is performed; besides which, very few of these individuals are at all acquainted with the art of husbandry, particularly that system which ought to be adopted in a colony, the climate, soil, and produce of which, are so essentially different to those of the mother country; and those few, as soon as they have attained a knowledge of the regular method necessary there to be pursued, are generally taken away by some cause or other, or claim their freedom, from the original term of their transportation being expired, so that little better than a succession of new hands have to perform a task of which the chief part are totally ignorant.

By the opening of the stores, and the prevention of the losses before mentioned, the Southseamen, and other vessels touching at Port Jackson, might at all times receive ample supplies of such refreshments as they stood in need of, in ex-

change for articles more serviceable to the inhabitants than any recompense of a pecuniary nature; and, indeed, absolutely necessary to the comfort and prosperity of the colony. In case of a war in these seas, or in any part of India, this settlement would prove a very desirable *depot*, and place of rendezvous. Soldiers and seamen would at all times be healthy, without great fatigue, free from scorbutic complaints, so prevalent after a long voyage, and would not suffer from a change of climate, which too frequently brings on dysentery, or other fatal diseases; these circumstances would naturally render them more fit to enter a field of battle, and better qualified, in every respect, to endure the wearisome fatigues and dangers of war.

Several ships which have touched at the settlement under the pressure of necessity, have been denied the requisitions which they have made for bread and other provisions; and, although the local circumstances of the colony rendered that denial absolutely necessary; yet, had the settler been guaranteed by any means against loss, or could he have received any sufficient security for his grain, every ship which had been in need, as well as every one touching there in future, would have been, and might be, amply provided for. The influx of American vessels, and ships from the East Indies, has recently suffered a very considerable diminution; the former, at one period, nearly supplied the colony with articles of almost every description, at very reasonable prices, but, from some cause or other, vessels from the United States seldom now arrive in the same numbers as formerly, and the supplies have consequently fallen off materially, which naturally injures all descriptions of persons, not only by preventing an immediate intercourse between those countries, but also by lessening very considerably the consumption of stock, grain, &c. so that the settler, in planting his land, has now no other views than to raise a sufficiency of grain for the consumption of his own family, and the liquidation of his debts. He has no longer a stimulus to labour; he calculates that the time and toil are

wasted which are spent in raising an article for which he has no vent ; his industrious disposition is consequently cramped ; his present exertions are without hope of reward ; and his prospects are divested of the supporting promise of future comfort or competence. Such a system as this evidently and rapidly tends to ruin ; these symptoms are the obvious marks of a diseased economy ; and, if decay appears in the present unripe state of the country, with what propriety—with what hope—on what grounds, can the mind calculate upon future prosperity ?

The vessels of neutral powers ought to be encouraged to trade to the settlement ; they would serve the colony, by giving encouragement to the settlement ; there would once again be a beneficial competition ; there would be a channel for the carrying off the surplus produce of the country, and industry might again look forward with joyous expectation to the harvest of its toil. These vessels might be laden back with spermaceti or other oils, seal skins, coals, ship-timber, fustic, or any other articles the produce of the settlements and the Southern Seas ; and thus a traffic might be established and carried on with reciprocal benefit, and the independence of New South Wales must be greatly aided in consequence of these beneficial regulations.

It may perhaps be argued, that the indiscriminate admission of the trade of neutral vessels might tend to injure the British ships trading to this colony ; but such a consequence may easily be averted, since the governor has power to prevent those ships from selling any such articles as he may deem it expedient to prohibit ; and no injury could consequently be sustained, while it would hold out the necessity of selling the European goods at a reasonable rate, or the wants of the colony might be supplied from another market. The arrival of neutral ships with merchandise would also tend to prevent the too frequent monopolies which take place in this quarter, of the nature of which and their mischievous effects upon the general prosperity of the colony, with a full expo-

sition of the plans which had been adopted to facilitate the rapid rise of a mercenary and powerful few, to the serious injury and almost inevitable downfall of the country, should be held up to the public view of every impartial man; by which means the grand promoters of so nefarious a practice will bring upon their own heads that disgrace, dishonour, and infamy, which their vile projects had formed for others to bear the burthen of. It has been truly said, that by means of those ships a great quantity of spirits have been introduced into the settlement of Port Jackson, and on this plea the prohibition of their sales, it is said, has taken place. However, the landing of those noxious cargoes might be easily prevented; or they might be suffered to be brought on shore, and lodged in one of his majesty's store-houses, under a bond, so that, whenever the vessel was about to sail from the port, she might receive it again, having some trusty and vigilant person placed on board, to see that no smuggling transactions were carried on, and where he should be ordered to remain until the ship quits the Heads. By these means, which would be no expense to the crown, the dry goods, &c. which had been brought to the market, might be readily disposed of, without any risk being incurred of the introduction of too much of that maddening liquor, generally brought by these vessels, to be distributed amongst the inhabitants of the colony.

The establishment of a post-office for the receipt of all letters and parcels for private individuals, and for the dispatch of those which are transmitted from the colony, would be productive of essential service to the general interests, and should be entrusted to some person of respectability, whose remuneration might arise from a certain tax or postage: Such an institution would prevent a number of letters from being lost, delivered to wrong persons, or illegally obtained by such for the purpose of sending to the friends of the persons for whom they were intended, with a view to obtain money or other property. It has frequently occurred that boxes, &c. have

been gained under false pretensions, from on board ships which had arrived in the port, and the contents of which have been worth a very considerable value : The persons guilty of this crime, by some means obtain the information as to the packages which are on board, and then personate, or cause some of their connexions to personate, those to whom the packages are addressed, on which they obtain the property by only signing a receipt to the officer on board. An office of this description would effectually prevent the recurrence of such fraudulent practises, and would give a security for the regular delivery of transmission, as well as the security, of the letters, &c. which were entrusted to its care. An oath might be administered to the superintendent.

The unfit clothing sent out for the convicts has been a subject of sincere complaint, as being dispatched without any regard to quality or comfort. It would therefore be highly expedient to send out a considerable portion of wearing apparel unmade, so that there would be an absolute saving of the cost of making ; for the wearers would feel much greater satisfaction from being allowed to receive it in the piece, that they might suit it to their respective wants, as well as consult their own comforts : Those who might have less leisure than their fellow-prisoners, could have their clothing made by the tailors for the different settlements, while the others would be happy to make their own. If this plan were to be carried into execution, it might be necessary to find a person properly qualified to take the superintendence of this mechanical department ; and such a one might readily be found in the mother country, whose disposition, owing to adverse circumstances, might lead him to accept this situation in the colony ; thus a proper quantity of work would be completed, and economy would be much promoted.

The indiscriminate distribution of the clothing sent over is also another evil which requires a remedy, and this might easily be provided, by supplying the prisoners only with such articles as were necessary to them ; since those who had re-

ceived superfluous garments have been in the habit of resorting with them to gaming, or sell them, being unable to apply them to any purpose of wear, as their scanty make will not allow of a change; this, however, would not be the case if the clothing was given to them unmade, since every man would find himself enabled to turn it to some beneficial purpose. The clothing has materially fallen off, in point of quality and suitableness for the climate, of late years; but the evil complained of would cease to exist, if articles similar to those originally distributed in the time of Governor Phillip were now to be issued annually. Many of the females indeed are the slaves and vanity of pride, and being in the custom of cohabiting with persons in affluent circumstances, never appear in the dress originally given them by the crown; from such as these the issue is now withheld, and they are struck off the victualling list. The consequence of these regulations would be the obtainment of more comfortable clothing to the convicts, and a considerable diminution in the sick list, which had been filled as much from this as from any other cause; and a degree of content and carefulness would be instilled into the minds of the prisoners, in lieu of the negligence, slovenliness, and discontent, which have recently prevailed amongst them on that account.

A very considerable saving in the expences of the colony would be effected by the consolidation of the two officers of Ship-owner and Contractor into one, and the undertaking to land all stores which are liable to injury in the colony, in a perfect state, at his own risk; for it is a notorious fact, that vast quantities of clothing, stores, and provisions, are landed out of every vessel which arrives in the port, in such a damaged state as to be actually unserviceable; the necessary consequence of which very often is, the total loss of the article to government; nor has it unfrequently happened, that boxes containing stores have been broke open in the passage, and articles of various descriptions thereby have been purloined to a very great amount. It cannot be doubted that there are

many ship-owners who would not scruple to enter into an engagement of the kind, by sending out his own vessels, and might undertake to convey the stores safely at a very reduced expense. The saving which would thus be effected is surely sufficient to justify the experiment, since the security of the articles, which are in general the most damaged, might be easily guarded by the adoption of a few measures of prudent precaution, and by a careful attention during the voyage. A considerable advantage might also accrue to the merchant from employing his vessels in the Southern Whale-fishery, and a strong probability would exist of his procuring freights from India for his ships, on account of the East India Company: The adoption of this plan seems to be practicable, and there cannot be a reasonable doubt entertained of its superiority over every other in point of economy.

A commissioner or agent might be appointed for the purposes of inspecting the stores and various articles sent to New South Wales, whose duty it would be to see the articles shipped correctly, and thus to prevent those omissions which are daily in the habit of occurring, and which are of more consequence than may, at first glance, be imagined. This person might also be beneficially employed in comparing the stores shipped with the receipts of the masters, so as to preclude all possibility of practises which are inconsistent with the welfare of the government, but which are too common, and can only be prevented by the adoption of such a measure as the one now proposed. Whenever the governor of the colony should send over a requisition, this agent ought immediately to be furnished with an extract from his excellency's correspondence, so that by these means the requisition would not be liable to neglect, and much trouble would be spared to the Public Office, whose it had previously been to attend to this department. The reduction of expense which would result from this appointment would be much more than adequate to the increased expense incurred by the appointment and remuneration.

ration of a gentleman of probity and respectability to this office.

The method of conveying convicts from England is so very inhuman, that some better and more benevolent measure ought to be adopted. The lives of these unfortunate victims of depravity ought surely to be regarded with as much care as those of any other class of his Majesty's subjects ; the contrary of this has, however, been too frequently the case, and some of the masters of the transports who have been entrusted with these captives, have treated them with such uniform rigour that numbers have perished through the intensity of their sufferings. This want of care is to be attributed to the former custom of contracting for the transport of the convicts at so much per head, so that the master has no interest in the preservation of those entrusted to his care. This evil, too, might also be remedied by the contract being made only for the number which might be landed in New South Wales, and by which means the owner of the transport would strive to preserve the life of each individual with the most studious attention, since the loss of a single life would be a diminution of his profit, and there could no longer be a danger of the unhappy prisoners being suffered to perish from any negligence or severity. In addition to this, the surgeon and the master might receive a reward for each person whom they delivered in good order, if their humanity was such as to require a pecuniary stimulus. This has been tried in some instances, at least report has so stated, and, if so, there must have been sufficient evidence gained of the superiority of the method over that which was formerly adopted. It might not be a bad plan to try if some of the superfluous frigates in the service might not be converted into good transports ; for there could be no doubt that, in vessels of this description, the accommodations which might be afforded to the convicts would much exceed those of the common transport ships, and the prisoners would of course be sooner fit for duty, and less liable to the attacks of disease. Out of several ships that have

arrived, not two-thirds of the number of convicts originally put on board have reached their place of destination; and this mortality, it is feared, must have been occasioned by the embezzlements of the provisions and stores which were intended for the use of the captives. It is also much to be feared that an undue degree of severity has oftentimes been exercised towards the convicts, under the pretence of some attempts to mutiny and effect their escape. Such methods of throwing censure upon the innocent, to excuse wantonness and cruelty, cannot be too severely reprehended, if reprehension be all that can be inflicted upon the perpetrators of such diabolical deeds. The treatment has been directly reverse where a King's officers has been placed on board the transport, who evinced an unshaken resolution to perform his duty. The convicts which came out on board the Royal Admiral, Captain Bond, met with a treatment, and arrived in a condition, which reflected the highest honour on the humanity and prudence of her esteemed commander, and might be properly held forth as a model and an example to the masters of all transports who may in future be employed in the service. Every attention was paid to their cleanliness in particular, care was taken to provide them with the most wholesome provisions, and their messes were so varied as to prevent any dislike arising from repetitions with too much frequency; on the slightest appearance of indisposition, some nourishing broths, wine, &c. were constantly ordered; twice a day they were mustered on deck, and the ship was completely fumigated: The whole arrived in the most excellent health and spirits imaginable. If every master had displayed a similar good conduct, there would have been no ground for the present complaint, nor any room for the remedy which is suggested in the preceding part of this article.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Necessity of reforming the Jurisprudence of the Colony—Instances of Mal-Administration—Propriety of forming a Council for supporting the Governor—Defects in the Legislative Code—Expediency of reforming the judicial Code also—Trial by Jury recommended—Bankrupt Laws necessary—Utility of Councils—Constables—Bad Effects of perpetual Transportation and perpetual Banishment—Several salutary Regulations stated.

THE absolute necessity of some immediate and effectual reform in the administration of the laws of the colony, is strongly urged by gentlemen who have had an opportunity to inspect its actual state, and whose discernment led to the origin of those causes which retard its prosperity. The best laws, if explained and executed by men deficient either in integrity or in knowledge, produce the same baleful effects as the mandates of a tyrant. It has therefore been proposed to appoint a number of gentlemen of small fortunes, whose characters will bear the strictest investigation, and whose talents are adequate to the task, to go over to the colony as justices of the peace, in order that the general welfare and individual security of the colony should be promoted. To these persons many indulgences might be granted, and a respectable salary ought to be attached to the office, so as to enable them to support that degree of respectability and dignity which their situation requires; and to make their interest totally unconnected with those pursuits which have led so many to sacrifice their principles, and to neglect their duty, for the sake of pursuing the search after independence. The incorruptibility which ought to characterise the conduct of a magistrate should be so fortified by every prudent precaution, that it may at no time, however remote, be in danger of agitation; nor

would it be prudent, in another point of view, to permit these gentlemen to mingle in occupations which must have an evident tendency to distract their attention from those arduous tasks which they would be called upon to fulfil, in a country where criminals must naturally abound. Numbers of persons are doubtless to be found in Great Britain who would gladly accept these appointments, whose educations have taught them to look above situations to which unforeseen and unavoidable calamity may have reduced them ; men who have preserved their principles and integrity unshaken by the attacks of adversity, and who, consequently, must be eminently qualified to fill such offices as those which have been suggested. The example which these persons would hold out to the rest of the settlement, could not fail of producing very beneficial effects upon the moral conduct of those who copy their models of their superiors ; and would also be of service in assisting to create a society of power and independence, which might operate as a check upon the influence of all other descriptions of persons.

“ In addition to this council, composed of the chief officers of the government,” says Mr Mann, “ I consider it essentially requisite that a barrister should be appointed as a counsellor to the governor, at all times when his excellency is referred to in matter of doubtful disputation, which must oftentimes occur in the colony, and which frequently reduces him to an unpleasant dilemma. Aided by a legal adviser, however, his judgment must be strengthened, and his decision would be more weighty, without creating in his breast those uneasy sensations which must arise under different circumstances. In the present conformation of the government, the governor has no legal adviser to have recourse to when an appeal is made to his decision, which is not rarely the case, except the judge advocate, and this officer having previously given his opinion in the court below, cannot, of course, be again consulted on the same subject. In consequence of this default of advice, the governor must give his own opinion, which may or may

not be in conformity with the laws in the mother country, just as it may happen, and according to the knowledge he may possess of the principles and practise of jurisprudence, which is seldom very deep in persons whose inclinations are so opposite to this kind of study as the officers of the navy and army, from whom the governors of the colony have hitherto been selected. This counsellor could be selected from those who might be induced to listen to such a proposal as may place before them a certain liberal competence, with the opportunity of rising to independence in a sphere where the numbers of competitors would be so low as to render final success less precarious. It is needless to expatiate more amply upon the benefits which must accrue from an appointment of this nature, which would impose but a trifling additional burden on the crown, since it is extremely possible that a barrister might be obtained for the salary of 150*l.* per annum, which, together with the victualling of himself and his family and servants from the public stores, and residence in the colony rent-free, added to the other customary indulgences given to persons from whose services utility is expected to be derived, would not make his situation worth less than 500*l.* per annum, a temptation which must possess some weight in the minds of those who meet with inadequate encouragement in England."

The legislative code of the colony requires a careful revision, since the numerous residents who have arrived in the settlement, and their increasing respectability and opulence, render such a measure necessary. That system which would suit the original establishment, composed only of two classes, the officers of government and the convicts, will scarcely be expected to adapt itself to the wants and wishes of a community advanced in civilization: In the former case, the principal object was to punish delinquency; in the latter, to secure property, and insure the safety of that wealth which now began to shew itself in the multiplication of luxuries, and the augmentation of individual splendour. The present system

is so liable to abuse, and has given just occasion for so many complaints on the part of those traders who visit the colony in great numbers, as well as of the more respectable classes of the inhabitants themselves, that it is become highly expedient to substitute in its place one which shall be incorruptible, and which, from its own importance, may command a greater degree of respect. At the head of this court ought to be placed a chief justice, who, by the respectability of his salary, should be effectually placed above the reach of every motive of an improper or injurious nature; and in order to lighten this expence to the crown, certain court fees might be established which would materially assist to swell the amount of the remuneration which ought to be attached to this high office, so as to render it worthy the notice of men who are fitted, by habit and education, to execute its duties in a correct and honourable manner. The rent of the residence appointed to this gentleman ought to be taken from his shoulders, and the public stores should find provisions for himself, his family, and his servants, together with fuel and candles; the wages of a limited number of domestics might also be paid by government; and thus he would be exonerated from so many burthens of a pecuniary nature, that a salary which might at the first glance seem inadequate to the trust reposed, would, on considering every circumstance, appear less exceptionable, and more equal to the dignity which would externally be attached to the office. It is almost superfluous to mention, that the utmost care should be taken in the choice of a proper person to fill this situation, since his character, his conduct, and his general habits, ought to be such as to render him like *Cæsar's wife*—"not only free from suspicion, but free from the suspicion of being suspected." With a person of this description to superintend the court of judicature, there could no longer exist causes to fear the introduction of party motives and malicious prejudices, to contaminate the stream of justice; a strict impartiality would direct every decision, and those who were doomed to meet with disappointment in their

views, while they writhed under its decision, would not be able to impeach its integrity. If it were found necessary to adopt any further measures to preserve their honour unsullied, the rendering their situations limited might probably produce a good effect ; and a pension might be allowed to them on their return to England, if they were able to produce certificates from the governors and lieutenant-governors who had held command in the colony during their residence, attesting the incorruptibility of their conduct, and the zeal which they had displayed in the due execution of their duty. A farm might also be allowed to the individual placed in this important office, if it were thought expedient, under certain restrictions which should prevent him from abstracting his attention from his official duties, at periods when his professional avocations might require his presence in the service of the public. A salary of 500*l.* per annum, with the addition of these indulgencies, would be equal to 1200*l.* a year.

An alteration in the judicial code appears also to be necessary, or at least highly expedient. In the criminal court, the judge advocate and six naval and military officers are at present empowered to decide and try delinquents ; and although their opinions on verdicts have latterly been almost unanimous, yet we cannot but call to recollection a period when, painful to relate, the naval and the military were too frequently, if not generally, opposite in their determinations : Nor is this the least part of the evil ; for evidence is on record of persons having been bribed, or controlled, by one or more of the members of the court then sitting in judgment, to accuse their industrious neighbour, upon oath, of crimes which he had never committed, in order to lay a ground for the ruin of the unfortunate individual, merely because his industry and prosperity in trade were objects of envy. If such a system is not suppressed, it is not possible for the human mind to calculate upon the termination of the mischiefs which may ensue from it ; it is not possible for humanity to look upon the probable consequences, without emotions of horror and dis-

may. To prevent, therefore, the recurrence of any circumstance so flagrant and unjust, it is absolutely necessary to take some measures to render the criminal and civil courts free from every kind of prejudice; for what argument can justify the committal of the existence or the fortunes of individuals, to the mercy or the caprice of men who are blinded by prejudice.—Prejudice and party must be fatal to the progress of justice: and as the preceding remarks are nothing more than the details of facts, which are notorious to every individual who has lived long in the colony, there is no occasion for saying much in addition, to prove that a necessity does exist for some change in the judicial code of the settlement; and it is much to be wished and desired, that by that change the power may be vested in honest and incorruptible hands, which may be held out equally to punish the guilty, and to protect the oppressed; to curb the insolence of pride, and foster humble merit; and, finally, to render New South Wales an exact copy from that fine picture of freedom and justice which is represented in the mother country.

That the trial by jury should be introduced into the colony, has long been a *desideratum* amongst the best-informed inhabitants of the colony; since its effects could not be otherwise than beneficial where such universal iniquity prevails, and where even in the courts of law many enter with impure motives and unclean hands; since the greater part of the community are more or less implicated in the notorious and impoverishing impositions which are continually practised amongst all classes. When we say that this blessing has been desired by the *well-informed*, it must also be understood to mean the *well-intentioned* only; for its establishment in the settlement would unavoidable prove fatal to that ruinous traffic, from which several of the superior classes have derived their opulence and consequence, and it is not therefore to be expected, that such as these would wish to behold the approach of that scourge which would remove from them the power of extending universal evil for the promotion of their

individual good. By these persons the admission of the trial by jury is sincerely and ardently deprecated, while it is wished for with equal fervency by others, and particularly those oppressed inhabitants, whose miseries and necessities have been the means of increasing the wealth, and hardening the feelings of those who have so long pursued the destructive system of monopoly. It would not have been practicable to introduce the trial by jury at the commencement of the settlement, since there were none but convicts, and a few free persons who were paid and supported by the crown; but the case is now materially altered, and the great influx of free, independent, and respectable inhabitants, which the later years of the colony have witnessed, not only render such a measure practicable and prudent, but loudly call for it as a step rendered indispensable to the welfare of the community. Numbers have also served their terms of transportation, or have been made objects of royal bounty on account of their signal good conduct, and has thus swelled the numbers of free residents; so that there could be no difficulty in making out a list of jurors, sufficient for every purpose, even if the assizes were ordered to be held monthly, which is a more frequent occurrence than in the mother country. Objections may be started to the propriety of receiving those, who have been convicted and have suffered the sentence of the law, as jurors; but if this description of persons are worthy to be received as evidence at all in a court of justice, and there are instances sufficient on record to prove this to have been the case; and where this evidence of persons so objected to and proscribed, has been the sole means of the conviction to death of the accused, surely it could afford no room for cavil that a jury should in part be composed of persons, whose conduct during the term of their punishment has been such as to give general satisfaction, and who have proved by their conduct that they have reformed their dispositions, corrected their principles, and are likely to become useful, and consequently valuable, members of society; and none others should be admit-

ted on the list. Besides, even allowing this objection to have some weight, will reason and policy justify the carrying of this principal to such a length, as to exclude from this privilege those free settlers who have been guilty of no crime, and have suffered no punishment? Shall these, in return for their voluntary exile from their native land to promote the interest of the colony, lose the benefit of this inestimable distinction, which operates as a security to the freedom of Englishmen, and renders it so far superior to the boasted independence of any other nation in the world? If it were thought inexpedient to admit twelve jurors, in consequence of the limited population of the settlement, eight might be allowed in the first instance, and the rest could be added when circumstances would permit; so that the principle of the system would be established, and these could be instructed in the laws of the land from the bench. In each of the settlements there are a great many persons competent to fill the office of jurors, and it is to be hoped that no long interval will be suffered to elapse without the colony being permitted to participate in those inestimable privileges which render the mother country the envy of the world.

The admission of the bankrupt laws in the colony would tend still more to the perfecting of the system of jurisprudence, and appears to be a very desirable object of solicitude. For want of some legal system of this kind, many families have been reduced to the lowest extremes of misery and want, the heads being immured in prison, without the ability to liquidate the claims of their unfeeling creditors, or to provide support for their perishing families. The necessary consequence was, the individuals fell to the charge of the government, since they must not be suffered to starve. The obduracy of the creditors may be assigned as the sole cause of this wretchedness; for although, in such circumstances, the unfortunate debtor had been willing to relinquish all his possessions; to surrender his land, his cattle, his stock, and every thing else of which he could boast of the possession; nothing

short of payment in money could satisfy; and the ill-fated was doomed to experience the accumulated horrors of personal suffering, in addition to that which must arise from the idea that his sorrows extended themselves, with equal or superior bitterness, to those who were dear to him. Such occurrences as these have tended to multiply considerably the expenses of government, who have frequently found it necessary to extend their assistance to the whole of the unfortunate debtor's family, to preserve them from actual destruction; and who could not, by any authority which was vested in them, compel the hard-hearted and inhuman creditor to accede to the only proposal which it was in the ability of the prisoner to offer. The introduction of the bankrupts laws could not fail to afford an effectual relief to persons reduced to this unfortunate condition, and must be productive of much future benefit, in consequence of the continual argumentation of the trade of the settlement, and the increasing numbers of the dealers; circumstances of themselves which must carry to every rational mind the strong necessity which exists for the adoption and introduction of some legal code, assimilated as much as possible to the bankrupt laws of the mother country, if it should be considered imprudent to copy precisely after this exquisite model.

The encouragement of a few barristers to go over to the settlement, who have not met with success adequate to their wishes in the mother country, but who are, notwithstanding, persons of unimpeached moral character (for nothing could be more impolitic in any case than to import persons of doubtful characters in a colony of this description), and whose legal knowledge would be amply sufficient for every purpose in New South Wales; such an importation would be attended with very great advantage to the inhabitants. For the wants of such persons has, in numerous instances, been very severely felt by those who have had occasion to come into the courts of laws. Many instances have occurred, where the persons accused might, by the assistance of a counsel who possessed the

ability to penetrate the motives and intentions of the prosecutor, have escaped the punishment which he has been compelled to endure. Evidence is frequently mis-stated and misrepresented in the courts, and this, owing to the great ignorance of numbers who are brought forward as witnesses, is a circumstance of no rare occurrence; the questions being taken down in writing, and, in the attempt to give them some grammatical connection, ideas being frequently perverted, and taken directly opposite to their original meaning, without any intention whatever to enter into a mis-statement. Now it must be sufficiently obvious that the allowing of counsel would tend to do away this evil, since he would himself be in the habit of taking notes of the evidence, and would thus not only be able to detect any misrepresentation, but would convey satisfaction to the mind of the prisoner himself, and convince the spectators (who, by the bye, frequently retire under very different impressions), that the accused has at last been treated throughout with fairness. It cannot be necessary to enter into reasoning to prove that this mis-statement of evidence is an evil which calls for redress; that no better plan can be devised than the introduction of counsel into the courts, who might keep a vigilant watch over the progress of the trial, and not only insure the correct statement of the various dispositions, but be ready to take immediate advantage of any circumstances which might arise of a favourable complexion to the persons accused, by which means many prisoners might be rescued from the punishment which, from a want of legal aid, they have been compelled to submit to. In the answers of witnesses, instances have been known of "No" being substituted for "Yes;" and what guarantee can there be for the obtainment of justice, where a possibility exists of the occurrence of such mistakes—mistakes on which the existence of a fellow-creature might hinge!

If then the criminal court needs so strongly the introduction of counsel, the court of civil judicature is equally in want of similar aid, where subjects of the most complicated nature

are frequently brought for decision, and where the difficulty of deciding correctly is almost, if not totally, insuperable. Considerable sums here depend upon the issue of a question, of the nature of which no one present is qualified to judge; and an appeal from the decision which ensues is frequently made to the governor, who is thus left singly to decide what has caused so much difficulty to a whole court!

The utility, nay the necessity, then, of a professional assistant in these cases, must surely be evident to every one, and without such aid it is not possible that justice can be impartially administered. The ignorance of many suitors, even men of great opulence and respectability, is so deplorable that they cannot make you comprehend their own case, when called upon to state their grievance; but the possibility of having their cause pleaded by a counsellor would not only save the court itself a serious loss of time and a considerable degree of perplexity, but must surely lead to a more correct decision in cases of difficulty. By these means the discontent which now universally displays itself in the person who has lost the cause, would be completely done away, and he could no longer attribute his defeat to the partiality of the judges, when he should have experienced the full benefit which he might derive from a communication with, and the able aid of, a legal adviser. If two, three, or more barristers, could be induced to depart for the colony merely as private settlers, receiving from government a free passage; victualling from the stores for themselves, families, and servants; and every other indulgence which is usually granted to settlers, there could be no doubt that they would soon find their endeavours successful; and the allowance of government, with the emoluments which they would derive from their practise, which might safely be calculated at 200*l.* or 300*l.* per annum; having a farm allowed them to cultivate, would render their situations not only comfortable, but eminently respectable; and their introduction would be attended with no extraordinary expense to government, beyond what is generally al-

lowed to settlers in the colony. To encourage gentlemen of education and ability to make this attempt, it might not be an improper extension of liberality to allow them a free passage back to England, if, upon a fair and sufficient trial, it should be discovered that the speculation which induced them to embark for the colony should not turn out productive enough to reward them for their exertion, and to offer them that gentleman support to which they would be entitled, on account of the superiority of their situation, and according with the habits of their former life.

In the trial of civil causes, it has, until latterly, been the custom of the court to insert in writing only the amount of the debt sought to be recovered, and damages which have been awarded, the names of the plaintiff and defendant, and the adjudication of the court; but in the opinion of many persons of consequence and respectability in the colony, it is absolutely requisite to cause all the *viva voce* evidence which is given in all civil cases to be taken down in writing. The following reasons are given for this alteration in the former custom: It occurs very frequently that appeals are made from the decision of the civil court to the governor, and, in consequence of the evidence which has been given before the court not being taken down, the witness has an opportunity of correcting, enlarging, or otherwise altering his dispositions, so as to make his own case appear in a very different point of view to that which it bore in the former instance, and thus a temptation is held out to perjury, which is too strong for the weak morality of many in the colony to resist, and the current of public justice may, by this method, be completely turned out of its proper channel; and the decision of the civil court it is all times liable to be disputed and reversed. No writ of court is issued for less than ten pounds, so that the necessity of taking down the evidence in a suit instituted for a sum beneath that amount, does not appear to be so strikingly obvious; although an appeal may be made to the governor from the civil court, for any sum, even less than ten pounds; but

this is not very often done, although some instances have occurred. Where the sum sued for exceeds 300*l.* a court of appeal may be demanded, and if the plaintiff is dissatisfied with the decision of the governor, he has the right of appealing to the King in council; and here the necessity of taking down the evidence brought before the court becomes still more strong, since the character of the court itself may be involved in the issue of the legal decision. Suits to this amount are not now very rare, but they may be expected to become much more frequent in the thriving state of the colony.

The affixing a greater degree of respectability to the office of chief constable at Sydney, and the attachment of a salary to the situation from the crown, would be a desirable measure, since on this officer depends, in a great measure, the peace, the internal security, and good order of the colony; and it is therefore worthy of consideration whether the trust, inferior in importance to scarcely any in the settlement, ought not to be reposed in a person of some respectability, and who, by the receipt of an adequate remuneration, might be enabled to devote his time and attention to the duties of his office. To this situation so much responsibility is attached, and from it so much good is expected, that the person who fills it ought to be enabled to preserve a respectable appearance, and to embrace the comforts of life, without being permitted to have recourse to traffic or other pursuits which might contaminate his principles, or render him less zealous in his exertions for the good order of the colony. The benefit which must arise from the conscientious discharge of the duties of this office is much more than can be imagined at first sight; and the evils, on the other hand, which flow from its mal-execution, are in an opposite extremely baleful, and calculated more to promote excesses and tumults than to repress them.

That prisoners who are transported for life are in general different to their future fate, and careless of their conduct, is a fact well known to all persons who have resided in the settlement; and it therefore becomes a natural interesting ques-

tion, by what means these convicts may be brought to discharge their duties with more readiness, and to follow a course of life more fraught with happiness to themselves, and more satisfactory to those who are placed near them. The best method which suggests itself, is that of employing prisoners for life on government labour for a limited time only, at the expiration of which period they should be made free of the country, and, in case their conduct had been such as to merit approbation, should be allowed to become settlers, with the usual indulgences, and thus have the means once again placed before them of raising themselves to a respectable rank in society, in that country to which they had been banished. Those, on the other hand, who are found to be dissolute and abandoned characters when their term of labour had expired, might be made free also; but, instead of being allowed to become settlers and to receive indulgences, they might be taken off the stores, and be compelled to labour for their daily bread. Such an amelioration of the punishment of those unhappy delinquents who have incurred this heavy vengeance of the laws of their country, would induce numbers to look forward into futurity with a satisfaction which they had not possessed previously, arising out of the distant hope of becoming opulent and respectable, and of making the renewal, in the decline of their existence, and those prospects which, in their earlier years, had been eluded and destroyed by their vices; and this idea would not fail to stimulate them to a conduct more laudable, and calculated to accelerate the accomplishment of their wishes. It may be brought against this measure, as an argument, that it would reduce the extent of the power of government to grant pardons to deserving convicts, and that government would thus lose the advantage which was derived from the labour of those prisoners; but to the former objection it may be replied, that the certainty of an alleviation, and of the advantages which would attend a meritorious conduct during the specified period of punishment, would prove a powerful incentive to the convicts and

would tend to produce more good members of society and useful settlers than could be expected, unless some reward was to be the certain result of meritorious conduct; without this stimulus, there might be, as there has been, some good characters to reward, but their numbers, would be comparatively insignificant: To the latter objection it will only be necessary to say, that if government loses the labour of these convicts, it also disburdens itself of the weight of supporting them and of providing them clothing, &c.

Against the perpetual imprisonment of convicts the following reasons may be brought forward:—The restlessness and indifference which generally pervade the conduct of delinquents, of this description, who, seeing no termination to their captivity, lose the inclination to labour, if they ever possessed it, and become indolent and careless as to the colour of their future fate; the impossibility of any governor, however diligent and compassionate, being enabled to discover all the meritorious convicts of this description who might be entitled to their liberation in pursuance of the present system, since he could not possibly, at any time, keep an eye upon the whole, scattered as they are through the settlements, and in the employ of various persons; many deserving prisoners, having never been in the service of an officer, have none to recommend them, and remain, consequently, unnoticed, although they may be more meritorious than even some who are emancipated; and the numerous desertions which take place amongst those convicts who have no prospect of amelioration in view, and who are, therefore, indifferent what becomes of them, placing upon a level the dangers of destruction and the prospect of toiling away existence, without the hope of freedom or of happiness, to the close of their days. Such a conduct as this is truly not to be wondered at, when the behaviour of some criminals at the bar of their country is recalled to mind, where they have declined that mercy which has been extended to them, and preferred death to a perpetual banishment from that society which they had injured. If any of

the liberated convicts should afterwards attempt to make their escape from the colony, they might be returned to the public labour, or be sentenced to such other punishment as may be thought adequate to the importance of their offence. What the consequence of the amelioration of the rigour of punishment would be may easily be imagined; instead of continually murmuring at the gloomy prospect before them—of displaying indifference to the future—of beholding before them no limitation of their slavery, nothing but misery, toil, and death; instead of these cheerless contemplations, they would begin to display a degree of contentedness with the situation to which their delinquency had reduced them, and their progress would be marked by utility to the government and to the community, instead of being chequered by continual efforts to elude the vigilance of their overseers, and to escape from a scene of uniform hardships, unillumined by a single ray of hope.

The best interests of the colony would be greatly forwarded, if government were to select some clergymen, of unequivocal piety and zeal, to inculcate religious and moral principles. For this purpose, they should be chosen of unblemished character, whose respectability and exemplary conduct would assist to give weight to the doctrines which flow from their lips. Much good cannot be derived from the efforts of men, who are chiefly engaged in farming and traffic, and who will sell a bottle of spirits, to *oblige* some of those very persons with it, to whom they have just before been preaching the duty of temperance, and whose learning and appearance are better adapted to less important avocations, than fulfilling the sacred functions it is intended they should perform.—The future prosperity of the settlement also greatly depends upon the manner in which the rising generation are instructed. The education of youth is, at present, much neglected, through the want of four or five schoolmasters of sufficient capacity. There cannot be a doubt that persons qualified for this profession would meet with very liberal en-

couragement, as the children are numerous, and there are but few parents who cannot afford to educate their offspring respectably.

The want of some able superintendants in different branches of business is at present much felt, since such individuals might be usefully employed in training up youth to the pursuits of industry; by which means the commission of crimes would be rendered less frequent, and the dispositions of children would receive a proper bias. An arrangement of this nature would also remove the severe inconvenience occasioned by the extreme scarcity of able mechanics throughout the colony.

It will be immediately admitted by every unprejudiced mind, that the salaries of the deputy-commissaries should be increased, when the circumstances under which they are placed are duly considered. They have now only five shillings a day; a sum so totally inadequate to the services they perform, as to excite surprize in all who witness the extent of the trust reposed in them. This daily pay is barely sufficient to purchase a dinner in the colony, as they are obliged to appear in every respect as gentlemen; and the necessary consequence is, they are compelled to enter into other occupations, unless they have a better source of income than their salaries, in order to meet their own unavoidable expenditure, and to maintain (as is generally the case there) a wife and large family. The impolicy of giving small salaries must be obvious, when it is considered that individuals who are thus sparingly rewarded for their labour, abstract from their official duties some portion of that attention which ought to be wholly devoted to them.

A different arrangement with respect to the grants and leases of the land would also be productive of beneficial consequences. Whenever any of those deeds have been made, under the hand and the seal of governor, or of the colonial seal, they ought to be considered as secured to the grantee or lessee, their heirs, &c. and, under no pretence whatever, ex-

cept a failure in the fulfilment of the conditions expressed therein, ought the governor, or any succeeding governor, to retain the power of taking that land away. The existence of such a power, indeed, is, upon its surface, arbitrary; and, in its effect, totally destructive of the spirit of improvement; for there scarcely exists a man who would bestow his whole exertions and property in increasing the value and buildings upon land, which he holds by such an uncertain tenure. In the midst of his expectations, just as he has impoverished himself with the hope of reaping a future recompense, he may, by the sudden whims or caprice of an individual, be deprived at once of the means of gaining future subsistence, and plundered of every thing which he may have done with a view to his own benefit, and the bettering of the estate. It is surely unwise to leave a power (which, it is to be hoped, is without authority) of this description, in the hands of any man, however exalted his character, and however conspicuous his love of justice.

The whole of the contingent expenses which would result from these improvements, might be paid by duties laid on importations, exportations, &c. which are at present by no means inconsiderable, but might be greatly increased, to the mutual advantage of the colonist and the government.

To expatiate largely on the benefits which would result from the establishment of a free trade, is altogether superfluous to men whose minds can embrace the increased stimulus which would be given to industry, the influx of wealth and population, the improvements in agriculture, commerce, and the arts and sciences, and the rapid advancement of the best interests of the colony, which must result from such a measure.

** * Before entering into a narrative of the events which led to the expulsion of Governor Bligh, as promised in a preceding part of the work, it is proposed to give some account of the dependent settlements which were recently projected in order to strengthen and assist the original one at Port Jackson. The narrative of the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson will exhibit many curious and interesting facts, which contain the best elucidation of the present state of this important and distant portion of the British empire.*

CHAP. XL.

Interesting Nature of the Facts narrated.—Discovery and Importance of Van Dieman's Land—Government determines to Colonize it—Description of the Country from a French Voyager.

No sensible patriotic man can peruse the subject of this work without feeling the most lively interest in its contents. There is a charm in thus seeing villages, and churches and farms, rising from a wilderness, where civilized man has never set his foot since the creation of the world. The contrast between fertility and barrenness, population and solitude, activity and indolence, fill the mind with the pleasing images of happiness and increase. Man seems to move in his proper sphere, while he is thus dedicating the powers of his mind and body to reap those rewards which the bountiful Author of all things has assigned to his industry. Neither is it any common enjoyment, to turn for a while from the memory of those distractions which continue to agitate the Old World; and to reflect, that its very horrors and crimes may have thus prepared a long æra of opulence and peace for a people yet involved in the womb of time.

In a former part of this work*, we gave a succinct account of the voyage of discovery performed by Lieutenant Flinders† and Mr Bass, in a decked boat, in order to discover the situation, extent, and nature of Van Dieman's Land. The importance of this island was early perceived, and it has been

* See Page 301, and 307.

† This skilful and intrepid officer has acquired no less celebrity from his expedition to the west coast of New Holland, than from the unmerited and severe persecution he lately suffered in the Isle of France, through the insatiable jealousy of the French government.

accurately examined both by English and French navigators. From the first discovery of Bass's Strait, it had entered into the contemplation of Government to establish a settlement at its western entrance, as well from commercial, as political motives. In the first respect, it would give the greatest encouragement to the speculations carried on for seals, and sea-elephants, to the islands in the Straits, to have a secure port in their vicinity, where the produce might be collected until ready for exportation : in the next place, this measure would prevent any rival nations from establishing themselves on this coast, who might become troublesome neighbours to our colony at Port Jackson, which must no longer be considered as a contemptible part of the British dominions ; and to which the possession of Bass's Strait would give us a less tedious and circuitous access. Port Philip, on the north shore of the Straits, which was reported to be an excellent harbour, seemed, from its geographical position, to possess all the advantages required in the proposed settlement.

Before entering upon a statement of the measures adopted by the British government, in order to carry this design into execution, it will be proper to give some further account of this island, which may in a few ages attract the attention of civilized nations. Lieutenant Flinders and Mr Bass were unable to obtain all the information they desired, but this defect has been amply supplied by the publication of M. Dentrecasteaux's Voyage in search of La Perouse, and which was performed by order of the French government.

The French Ships anchored in the Bay of Rocks, on the south side of Van Dieman's Land, January, 1793. Here M. Labillardiere, one of the naturalists attached to the expedition, landed, accompanied by some other gentlemen and seamen, and during several successive days explored the adjoining country ; but most of his remarks on the soil and productions of the country have been already stated in the account given by Mr Bass. On Feb. 2d, says our Frenchman, we had planned a visit to the highest of the mountains in this part of New

Holland, the various sites of which gave us hopes of a great number of new productions. Each of us took provision for five days, which we presumed would afford us sufficient time for our purpose. Accordingly we set off very early in the morning, with a tolerable stock of biscuit, cheese, bacon, and brandy, our usual store on distant excursions.

When he had proceeded about half way on the road we had before taken, in our journey to South Cape, we found an extensive opening through the woods, which facilitated our progress westerly, as far as the foot of the hills, that we were obliged to cross; and then we plunged into the midst of the woods, with no other guide but the compass.

We directed our way to the north, advancing slowly from the obstacles presented us at every step by vast trees lying one upon another. Most of these, blown down by the violence of the winds, had torn up in their fall part of the soil that bore them; others, that had fallen in consequence of their age, were every where rotten, and the lower part of their trunks was frequently seen standing amidst the wreck of their upper parts, that lay in huge heaps around.

After a very laborious walk, we at length reached the summit of a mountain, whence we perceived to the south the middle of the roadstead of South Cape, and to the north-west the large mountain, toward which we directed our steps.

Night soon obliging us to halt, we kindled a large fire, round which we reposed; and a comfortable sleep dissipated the fatigues of the day. We slept in the open air, for we should have found it difficult, to construct a shelter in a short time among the large trees, as their branches was mostly near the summit, and this part of the forest was destitute of shrubs. We looked in vain for some large trunks hollowed by fire; these are to be found only in places frequented by the natives. We had seen a great number on the borders of the sea, where we had observed many paths, which the natives had cleared; but nothing gave us any intimation that they had ever come into the midst of these thick forests.

The air was extremely calm; and about midnight I awakened, when, solitary in the midst of these silent woods, the majesty of which was half disclosed to me by the feeble gleam of the stars, I felt myself penetrated with a sentiment of admiration of the grandeur of nature, which it is beyond my power to express.

8d. At day-break we resumed our journey in the same direction as before. Our difficulties increased more and more. The trunks of trees lying one upon another often presented an almost impenetrable barrier, obliging us to climb to the uppermost, and then to walk from tree to tree, at the hazard of a fall from a considerable height; for several were covered with a spongy bark, so wet with the damp continually prevailing in these thick woods, that our path was extremely slippery, as well as difficult.

The day was considerably advanced, when we arrived at the summit of a mountain, from which we perceived the whole extent of a long valley, which we had still to cross, before we could reach the foot of the mountains, which we had set out to visit. The intermediate space appeared to be about eighteen miles; and this space was occupied by forests, as thick as those through which we had just penetrated. It was to be apprehended, that it would take us upwards of two days, to reach the end of our intended journey; even if we were not retarded by extensive marshes, or other obstacles, which we could not possibly foresee. It would require nearly as long a time to return; and from this calculation, our provision would be expended three days before the termination of our journey. These forests in the mean time afforded nothing that could contribute to our subsistence; and consequently we were obliged to relinquish our design. After encountering many difficulties the party returned to their vessels, having on the road discovered that the mountains contained iron.

M. Labillardiere, the gardener, and two of the crew, set off on another excursion early on the morning of the 8th. "We

landed," says M. Labillardiere, "at the mouth of the harbour, on its western side; and fortunately found ourselves on a bank of oysters, of which we collected an abundant store. Snakes are not common at Dieman's Cape, yet, I saw two, sleeping in the sun, on large trunks of trees; on our approach they withdrew into the hollow trunks, that served them for a retreat. Though the course of the river was obstructed by large trees at almost every step, we were obliged to go up near a mile and half, before we could find one, by means of which we could cross to the opposite bank without too great difficulty. From this place we proceeded north-west, traversing very commodiously a spacious plain, part of the vegetables growing on which had lately been burned by the natives. In a short time we reached the head of the great lake, along the borders of which we walked as far as the sea, and having travelled over a considerable extent of ground, we returned to its extremity, to spend the night near a rivulet, which we had already crossed. As the weather was very fine, we lay down to sleep in the open air, sheltered solely by large trunks of trees, that lay on the ground; but the piercing cold we felt soon obliged us to kindle a large fire. It is remarkable, that the temperature of the air, at this extremity of New Holland, is sometimes 17° lower in the night than it was in the day. In fact, this narrow land, lying in a pretty high latitude, is not very capable of long retaining the heat, which has been imparted to it by the rays of the sun. This great difference of temperature was very inconvenient to us, as it obliged us to encumber ourselves with clothes, which we found very troublesome in the day.

" 9th. As soon as day-light appeared, while the two men that accompanied us were still asleep, the gardener and I proceeded towards the part of the lake opposite that which we had visited the evening before. After walking at least a couple of miles, we fancied we heard human voices before us. Redoubling our attention, we advanced a few steps, when a sudden cry, arising from several voices united, issued from

one spot, and we perceived through the trees a number of the natives, most of whom appeared to be fishing on the borders of the lake. As we were unarmed, and ignorant of their intentions, we did not hesitate to return to our companions, each of whom had a musket; and immediately crossed through the wood, that the savages might not see us, lest they should be tempted to pursue us, on perceiving our flight.

"When we had told our men the occasion of our return, I expressed my strong desire to have an interview with these people. It was necessary first, however, to prepare our means of defence, so that we might be able to avail ourselves of them in case of an assault. Accordingly we got ready a few cartridges, as fast as we could, and set out towards the place, where we had seen the natives. It was now only nine o'clock. We had gone only a few steps before we met them. The men and youths were ranged in front, nearly in a semi-circle: the women, children, and girls, were a few paces distant behind. As their manner did not appear to indicate an hostile design, I hesitated not to go up to the oldest, who accepted, with a very good grace, a piece of biscuit I offered him, of which he had seen me eat. I then held out my hand to him as a sign of friendship, and had the pleasure to perceive, that he comprehended my meaning very well: he gave me his, inclining himself a little, and raising at the same time the left foot, which he carried backward in proportion as he bent his body forward. These motions were accompanied by a pleasing smile.

"My companions also advanced up to the others, and immediately the best understanding prevailed among us. They received with great joy the neckcloths which we offered them: the young people approached nearer to us; and one of them had the generosity to give me a few small shells of the whelk kind, pierced near the middle, and strung like a necklace. This ornament, which he called *canawide*, was the only one he possessed, and he wore it round his head. A handkerchief

supplied the place of the present, gratifying the utmost wishes of my savage, who advanced toward me, that I might tie it round his head for him, and who expressed the greatest joy, as he lifted his hand up to feel it again and again. We wore abundance of clothes, as I have already observed, on account of the coldness of the nights ; and we bestowed the greater part on these islanders.

“ The women were very desirous of coming nearer to us ; and though the men made signs to them, to keep at a distance, their curiosity was ready every moment to break through all other considerations. The gradual increase of confidence, however, that took place, obtained them permission to approach. It appeared to us very astonishing, that in so high a latitude, where, at a period of the year so little advanced as the present, we already experienced the cold at night to be pretty severe, these people did not feel the necessity of clothing themselves. Even the women were for the most part entirely naked, as well as the men. Some of them only had the shoulders and part of the back covered with a kangaroo's skin, worn with the hair next the body : and among these we observed two, each of whom had an infant at the breast. The sole garment of one was a strip of kangaroo's skin about two inches broad, which was wrapped six or seven times round the waist ; another had a collar of skin round the neck ; and some had a slender cord bound several times round the head. I afterwards learned, that most of these cords were fabricated from the bark of a shrub of the spurge family, very common in this country.

“ A pole-axe, which we used for cutting off some branches from the trees, excited the admiration of these people. As they perceived us willing to give them any thing in our possession, they did not scruple to beg it ; and when we granted their request, they were overcome with joy. They were fully sensible of the value of our knives, likewise ; and received a few tin vessels with pleasure. When I shewed them my watch, it attracted their desire ; and one of them, in particular, ex-

pressed his wish to possess it: but he quickly desisted from his request, when he found, that I was not willing to part with it.

“ The readiness with which we gave them our things, no doubt, led them to presume, that they might take any thing belonging to us, without asking for it: this obliged us to set bounds to their desires; but we found, to our great satisfaction, that they returned to us, without the least resistance, such things as we could not dispense with for our own use.

“ I had given them several articles, without requiring any thing in return: but I wished to get a kangaroo's skin, when, among the savages about us, there happened to be only a young girl, who had one. When I proposed to her, to give it me in exchange for a pair of pantaloons, she ran away, to hide herself in the woods. The other natives appeared truly hurt at her refusal, and called to her several times. At length she yielded to their intreaties, and came to bring me the skin. Perhaps it was from timidity only, that she could not prevail on herself to part with this kind of garment; in return for which she received a pair of pantaloons, less useful to her, according to the custom of the ladies in this country, than the skin, which served to cover the shoulders. We shewed her the manner of wearing them; but, notwithstanding, it was necessary for us, to put them on for her ourselves. To this she yielded with the best grace in the world, resting both her hands on our shoulders, to support herself, while she lifted up first one leg, then the other, to put them into this new garment. Desirous of avoiding every cause of offence, we behaved with all the gravity we could on the occasion.

“ The party of savages consisted of two and forty, seven of whom were men, eight women: the rest appeared to be their children, and among these we observed several marriageable girls, still less clothed than most of the mothers. We invited them all to come and sit near our fire; and when they arrived there, one of the savages informed us by unequivocal signs, that he had come to reconnoitre us during the night.

That we might understand he had seen us sleep, he inclined his head on one side, laying it on the palm of his right hand, and closing his eyes; and with the other he pointed out the spot, where we had passed the night. He then acquainted us by signs equally expressive, that he was at the time on the other side of the brook, whence he observed us. In fact, one of us had been awakened about the middle of the night by a rustling among the branches, and had even fancied, that he heard some broken off; but, being greatly fatigued, he had soon fallen asleep again, persuaded it was a kangaroo, that had come to visit us. Our fire had been a guide to this native, whom the party had sent to reconnoitre us: while we had slept with the utmost tranquillity, notwithstanding we had been at the mercy of these savages the whole night. One of the men that accompanied us, then said, that in the evening, at sun-set, he perceived some smoke on the other side of the lake, whence he presumed, that some of the natives were assembled there; but he forgot to mention it to us, when we joined them.

“ We were desirous of showing these savages the effects of our fire-arms, after having given them to understand, that they had nothing to fear. They appeared, however, to be a little frightened at their report.

“ These people have woolly hair, and let their beards grow. It may be observed, that in the children the upper jaw advances considerably beyond the lower; but sinking as they grow up, both jaws are nearly even in the adult. Their skin is not of a very deep black; but no doubt they consider extreme blackness as a beauty, for, in order to heighten this colour beyond its natural state, they rub themselves over, particularly on the upper parts of the body, with powdered charcoal. On their skin, particularly on the breast and shoulders, may be observed tubercles symmetrically arranged, exhibiting sometimes lines four inches in length, at other times points placed at different distances. The application, by which these risings were produced, had not destroyed the

cellular membrane, however, for they were of the same colour as the rest of the skin.

“ The custom of extracting two of the front teeth of the upper jaw, which, from the accounts of some voyagers, had been supposed general among the inhabitants of this country, certainly has not been introduced into this tribe ; for we did not see one among them, in whom a single tooth of the upper jaw was wanting ; and indeed they had all very good teeth. One of the sailors, that accompanied us, thought he could not regale them better than with a glass of brandy ; but, accustomed to drink nothing but water, they quickly spit it out, and it seemed to have given them a very disagreeable sensation.

“ These savages, going completely naked, are liable to wound themselves, particularly in the lower extremities, when they pass through the woods. We observed one, who walked with difficulty, and one of whose feet was wrapped up in a piece of skin. I had not perceived the young girls for some time, and imagined that they had all retired into the woods ; but happening to look behind me, I saw, with surprise, seven who had perched themselves on a stout limb of a tree, more than three yards from the ground, whence they attentively watched our slightest movements. As they all squatted on the bough, they formed a pleasing group.

“ We were at a considerable distance from the shore, where a boat was to wait for us, to take us on board. It was time for us to be on our way toward it. We were quitting this peaceable party with regret, when we saw the men and four of the youths separating from the rest, in order to accompany us. One of the most robust presently went into the wood, whence he returned almost instantly, holding in his hand two long spears. As he came near, he made signs to us, that we need be under no apprehensions : on the contrary, it appeared as if he were desirous of protecting us with his arms. No doubt they had left their weapons in the woods, when they came to meet us in the morning, that they might give us no alarm.

"The other natives, whom we had just quitted, approached our party. Immediately on our requesting him, who carried the spears, to give us a specimen of his dexterity, he grasped one of them with the right hand near the middle, then raising it as high as his head, and holding it horizontally, he drew it back toward himself three times following with a jerk, which gave it a very perceptible tremulous movement at each extremity, when he darted it forward near a hundred paces. The weapon, supported throughout its whole length by the column of air beneath it, flew in a tolerably horizontal direction more than three-fourths of the distance. The tremulous motion impressed on it contributed, unquestionably, to accelerate its progress, and to support it longer in the air.

"The savage was very ready to gratify our wishes, by launching his spear several times following. He then aimed at an object, which we pointed out to him, and every time was near enough to it, to give us a high idea of his skill. Presently after another showed us two holes in a kangaroo's skin, which had been made apparently with the point of a spear, giving us thus to understand, that they employed this weapon to kill these animals. In reality, they launched it with sufficient force to pierce the animal through and through.

"At length we parted with our new guides, whose pace was sufficiently slow for us to follow them with ease. It seemed as if they were not accustomed to take a long walk without interruption: for we had scarcely been half a mile on our way, before they invited us to sit down, saying *medi*; and we immediately stopped. This halt lasted but a few minutes, when they rose, saying to us *tangara*, which signifies "let us set off." On this we resumed our journey: and they made us halt again, in the same manner, four times, at nearly equal distances.

"The attentions lavished on us by these savages astonished us. If our path were interrupted by heaps of dry branches, some of them walked before, and removed them to either side:

they even broke off such as stretched across our way from the trees that had fallen down.

“ We could not walk on the dry grass without slipping every moment, particularly where the ground was sloping ; but these good savages, to prevent our falling, took hold of us by the arm, and thus supported us. We found it difficult to persuade them that none of us would fall, even if unassisted, and they continued, nevertheless, to bestow on us these marks of affectionate kindness : nay, they frequently stationed themselves, one on each side, to support us the better. As they obstinately persisted in paying us this obliging attention, we no longer declined it.

“ They no doubt conceived it to be our intention to return to Port Dentrecasteaux, for we were twice mistaken in the road, and they both times pointed out to us that which led directly to it.

“ A trifling incident gave us reason to presume, that they sometimes catch birds with their hands. A paroquet flew by us, and pitched on the ground at a little distance. Immediately two of the young savages set off to catch it, and were on the point of putting their hands upon it, when the bird took wing.

“ It may be presumed, that there are no snakes at Dieman's Cape, the bite of which is to be dreaded : at least, if there be any such, the natives well know how to distinguish them. They pointed out one to us, gliding through the grass very near them, yet they did not appear to be under the least apprehension from it.

“ At length they brought us near the place where we had anchored the year before. The oldest of them was thirsty, and immediately made one of the youths fetch him an oyster shell, to serve as a cup, which he emptied several times before his thirst was quenched.

“ Our boat was not yet arrived. We were very desirous that these savages should have a near view of it ; and we hoped, likewise, to be able to prevail on some of them to go

on board with us ; but they were already leaving us to rejoin their families. At our invitation, however, they deferred their departure, and we walked together along the beach toward the entrance of the harbour. Some trees, that lay on the ground along the shore, gave them an opportunity of displaying their agility to us by leaping over them. We were too much fatigued to give them an exhibition of what we were capable of doing ; but I believe, savages as they were, they would have found themselves excelled by an European tolerably expert at this exercise.

As soon as the boat came, we invited some of them to go on board with us. After taking a long while to resolve on it, three of them consented to get into the boat ; but it appeared they had no intention to quit their party, for they got out again as soon as we prepared to push off from the shore. We then saw them walk with tranquillity along the sea-side, looking toward us from time to time, and uttering cries of joy.

"10th. The next day we returned in a large party to these savages. We rowed along the shore, beyond Port Dentrecasteaux, for some time, when a fire we perceived not far from the sea-side induced us to land. Some of the natives soon came to meet us, expressing by their cries the pleasure they felt at seeing us again.

"Our musician had brought on shore his violin, imagining that he should excite as much enthusiasm among them by some noisy tunes, as we had observed in the islanders at Rouka ; but his self-love was truly mortified, at the indifference shown to his performance here. Savages, in general, are not very sensible to the tones of stringed instruments.

"As we ascended the heights that skirt the sea, we soon found a party of those natives, by whom we had been so civilly received the day before. A lively joy was depicted on all their features, when they saw us drawing near. There were nineteen of them, round three small fires, making their meal on bernacles, which they roasted on the coals, and ate as fast as they were ready. Every now and then some of the

women went to pick these shell-fish from under the neighbouring rocks, and did not return till they had filled their baskets with them. On the same fires we observed them broil that species of sea-wrack, which is called *fucus palmatus*, and when it was softened to a certain point, they tore it to pieces to eat it.

“ The pains taken by one of the mothers to quiet her infant, yet at the breast, who cried at the first sight of us, appeared to us very engaging. She could not pacify him, till she covered his eyes with her hand, that he might not see us.

“ None of these people appeared with arms : but, probably, they had left them in the wood near ; for several of us having expressed an intention of going into it, one of the savages urgently entreated them not to go that way. Our people did not persist in it, lest they should give them some cause of mistrust : part of the boat’s crew, however, in order to deceive the vigilance of this centinel, walked a little way along the shore, that they might enter the wood, without being observed by him ; but no sooner did one of the women perceive their design, than she uttered horrible cries, to give notice to the other savages, who intreated them to return toward the sea.

“ We did not know to what to ascribe their repugnance for our viands, but they would taste none that we offered them. They would not even suffer their children to eat the sugar we gave them, being very careful to take it out of their mouths the moment they were going to taste it. Yet their confidence in us was so great, that one of the women, who was suckling a child, was not afraid to entrust it to several of us.

“ I imagined that these people, passing most of their nights in the open air, in a climate of which the temperature is so variable, must have been subject to violent inflammations of the eyes : yet all of them appeared to have their sight very good, one only excepted, who had a cataract.

“ Some of them sat on kangaroo’s skins, and some others had a little pillow, which they called *roere*, near a quarter of

a yard long, and covered with skin, on which they rested one of their elbows.

“ We observed with surprize the singular posture of the women, when they sit on the ground. Though for the most part they are entirely naked, it appears to be a point of decorum with these ladies, as they sit with their knees asunder, to cover with one foot what modesty bids them conceal in that situation. These people seemed to be so nearly in a state of nature, that their most trifling actions appeared to me worthy of observation. I shall not pass over in silence, therefore, the correction a father gave one of his children, for having thrown a stone at the back of another younger than himself: it was merely a light slap on the shoulder, which made him shed tears, and prevented his doing so again.

“ The painter to the expedition expressed to these savages a wish of having his skin covered like theirs with the powder of charcoal. His request, as might naturally be supposed, was favourably received; and immediately one of the natives selected one of the most friable coals, which he ground to powder by rubbing them between his hands. This powder he applied to all the parts of the body that were uncovered, employing nothing to make it adhere beside the rubbing of the hand, and our friend Piron was presently as black as a New-Hollander. The savage appeared highly satisfied with his performance, which he finished by gently blowing off the dust that adhered very slightly, taking particular care to remove all that might have gotten into the eyes.

“ When we departed for Port Dentrecasteaux, more than half these peaceable natives rose to accompany us. Four young girls also were of the party, who received with indifference the garments we gave them, and, that they might not be encumbered with an useless burden, immediately hung them on the bushes near the path, intending, no doubt, to take them with them on their return. As a proof that they set little value on such presents, we did not see on any of them one of the garments that we had given them the day before,

Three of these young women were marriageable, and all of them were of very cheerful dispositions. In one of them it was observed that the right breast had acquired its full size, while the left was still perfectly flat. This temporary deformity had no effect on the liveliness of her manner. They several times ran races on the shore, which was very smooth, and some of us endeavoured to catch them; when we had the pleasure to see, that Europeans could frequently run better than these savages. The men followed with a grave pace, each carrying his hands resting one against the other upon his loins; or sometimes the left hand passing behind the back, and grasping the right arm about the middle.

“No doubt we lost much by not understanding the language of these natives, for one of the girls said a great deal to us; she talked a long while with extraordinary volubility, though she must have perceived that we could not comprehend her meaning; no matter, she must talk. The others attempted more than once to charm us by songs, with the modulation of which I was singularly struck, from the great analogy of the tunes to those of the Arabs in Asia Minor. Several times two of them sung the same tune at once, but always one a third above the other, forming a concord with the greatest justness.

“During this long walk, some of our companions took us by the arm from time to time to assist us. One of the young girls having perceived at a distance a head, which the gunner of the *Esperance* had carved on the stump of a tree, appeared at first extremely surprized, and stopped short for a moment. She then went up to it with us, and, after having considered it attentively, named to us the different parts, pointing them out at the same time with the hand.

“Soon after we arrived at the entrance of Port Dentrecasteaux. Two of the young girls followed the different windings of the shore without mistrust, at a distance from the other natives, with three of our sailors, when these took the opportunity to treat them with a degree of freedom, which

was received in a very different manner from what they had hoped. The young women immediately fled to the rocks most advanced into the sea, and appeared ready to leap into it, and swim away, if our men had followed them. They presently repaired to the place, where we were assembled with the other savages; but it seems they did not disclose this adventure, for the most perfect harmony continued to prevail between us.

“Wishing to know whether these islanders were expert swimmers, one of our officers jumped into the water, and dived several times; but it was in vain that he invited them to follow his example. They are very good divers, however, as we had afterwards an opportunity of seeing, for it is by diving they procure a considerable part of their food. We invited them to eat with us some oysters and lobsters, which we had just roasted on the coals; but they all refused, one excepted, who tasted a lobster. At first we imagined that it was yet too early for their meal-time; but in this we were mistaken, for it was not long before they took their repast. They themselves, however, dressed their food, which was shell-fish of the same kinds, but much more roasted than what we had offered them. The time for our returning on board arrived, but none of the natives would accompany us, they all leaving us, and retiring into the woods.”

In the course of the 11th the French quitted all the places they had occupied on shore during their stay in Rocky Bay. The repairs of both vessels were finished; but as it was not then found convenient to quit the bay, our inquisitive navigators employed their time in observing more minutely the manners and customs of the singular race of beings which inhabit this distant and solitary country. “We knew already,” says the lively narrator, “that these savages had little taste for the violin; but we flattered ourselves that they would not be altogether insensible to its tones, if lively tunes, and very distinct in their measure, were played. At first they left us in doubt for some time; on which our musician redoubled

his exertions, in hopes of obtaining their applause ; but the bow dropped from his hand, when he beheld the whole assembly stopping their ears with their fingers, that they might hear no more.

“ These people are covered with vermin. We admired the patience of a mother, who was a long while employed in freeing one of her children from them ; but we observed with disgust that, like most of the blacks, she crushed these filthy insects between her teeth, and then swallowed them. It is to be remarked, that apes have the same custom.

“ The little children were very desirous of every thing shining, and were not afraid to come up to us, to endeavour to pull off our buttons. Their mothers, less curious with respect to their own dress than that of their children, held them to us, that we might decorate them with the ornaments which we had intended for themselves.

“ I ought not to omit a waggish trick which a young savage played one of our people. The sailor had laid down a bag full of shell-fish at the foot of a rock : the youth slyly removed to another place, and let him search for it a long time in vain ; at length he replaced it where the sailor had left it, and was highly diverted with the trick he had played him.

“ This numerous party was transported with admiration, when they saw the effects of gunpowder thrown on the burning coals. They all intreated us to let them have the pleasure of seeing it several times.

“ Not being able to persuade themselves that we had none but men among us, they long believed, notwithstanding all we could say, that the youngest of us were women. Their curiosity on this head carried them further than we should have expected, for they were not to be convinced, till they had assured themselves of the fact.

“ The women have adopted a mode which I imagine our belles will never imitate, though it occasions the disappearance of a considerable part of the wrinkles that pregnancy occasions. They have the skin of the abdomen marked with

three large semicircular risings, one above the other: whether from coquetry, or not, would be difficult to determine.

“ One of the savages had several marks of very recent burns on the head. Perhaps they employ the actual cautery in many diseases, which is an established practice among various other people, and particularly among most of the Indians.

“ About noon we saw them prepare their repast. Hitherto we had but a faint idea of the pains the women take to procure the food requisite for the subsistence of their families. They took each a basket, and were followed by their daughters, who did the same. Getting on the rocks, that projected into the sea, they plunged from them to the bottom in search of shell-fish. When they had been down some time, we became very uneasy on their account; for where they had dived were sea-weeds of great length, among which we observed the *fucus pyriferus*, and we feared that they might have been entangled in these, so as to be unable to regain the surface. At length, however, they appeared, and convinced us that they were capable of remaining under water twice as long as our ablest divers. An instant was sufficient for them to take breath, and then they dived again. This they did repeatedly, till their baskets were nearly full. Most of them were provided with a little bit of wood, cut into the shape of a spatula, of which I spoke above; and with these they separated from beneath the rocks, at great depths, very large sea-ears. Perhaps they choose the biggest, for all they brought were of a great size.

“ On seeing the large lobsters, which they had in their baskets, we were afraid that they must have wounded these poor women terribly with their large claws; but we soon found, that they had taken the precaution to kill them as soon as they caught them. They quitted the water only to bring their husbands the fruits of their labour; and frequently returned almost immediately to their diving, till they had procured a sufficient meal for their families. At other times they staid a little time to warm themselves, with their faces

toward the fire on which their fish was roasting, and other little fires burning behind them, that they might be warmed on all sides at once.

"It seemed as if they were unwilling to lose a moment's time, for while they were warming themselves, they were employed in roasting fish; some of which they laid on the coals with the utmost caution: though they took little care of the lobsters, which they threw any where into the fire, and when they were ready, they divided the claws among the men and children, reserving the body for themselves, which they sometimes ate before they returned into the water.

"It gave us great pain to see these poor women condemned to such severe toil; while, at the same time, they ran the hazard of being devoured by sharks, or entangled among the weeds that rise from the bottom of the sea. We often entreated their husbands to take a share in their labour at least, but always in vain. They remained constantly near the fire, feasting on the best bits, and eating broiled fucus, or fern-roots. Occasionally they took the trouble to break boughs of trees into short pieces, to feed the fire, taking care to choose the driest. From their manner of breaking them, we found that their skulls must be very hard; for, taking hold of the sticks at each end with the hand, they bent them over their heads, as we do at the knee, till they broke. Their heads being constantly bare, and often exposed to all weathers, in this high latitude, acquire a capacity of resisting such efforts: besides, their hair forms a cushion, which diminishes the pressure, and renders it much less painful on the summit of the head, than on any other part of the body. Few of the women, however, could have done as much; for some had their hair cut pretty short, and wore a string several times round the head, others had only a simple crown of hair. We made the same observation with respect to several of the children, but none of the men. These had the back, breast, shoulders, and arms, covered with downy hair.

“Two of the stoutest of the party were sitting in the midst of their children, and each had two women by his side. They informed us by signs, that these were their wives, and gave us a fresh proof that polygamy is established among them. The other women, who had only one husband, were equally careful to let us know it. It would be difficult to say which are the happiest; as the most laborious of their domestic occupations devolve upon them, the former had the advantage of a partner in them, which perhaps might sufficiently compensate their having only a share in their husband's affections.

“Their meal had continued a long time, and we were much surprized that not one of them had yet drank: but this they deferred, till they were fully satisfied with eating. The women and girls then went to fetch water with the vessels of sea-weed, getting it at the first place they came to, and setting it down by the men, who drank it without ceremony, though it was very muddy and stagnant. Then they finished their repast.

“When we returned toward Port Dentrecasteaux, most of the savages accompanied us; and before they left us, they gave us to understand, that, in two days, by proceeding along the shore, they should be very near our ships. To inform us that they should make this journey in two days, they pointed out with their hands the diurnal motion of the sun, and expressed the number two by as many of their fingers.

“When we re-embarked to go on board, these good people followed us with their eyes for some time, before they left the shore, and then they disappeared in the woods. Their way brought them at times to the shore again, of which we were immediately informed by the cries of joy, with which they made the air resound. These testimonies of pleasure did not cease till we lost sight of them from the distance.

“During the whole time we spent with them, nothing appeared to indicate that they had any chiefs. Each family,

on the contrary, seemed to us to live in perfect independence: though we observed in the children the greatest subordination to their parents, and in the women the same to their husbands. It appeared that the women were careful to avoid giving their husbands any occasion for jealousy: though, when we returned on board, one of the crew boasted of the favours he had received from one of the beauties of Cape Dieman; but it is difficult to say how far his story was founded on truth.

" 14th. The next day every thing was ready for our departure, and we waited only for a fair wind to set sail: but being delayed by a calm, we saw with pleasure, that the savages, who, at our last interview, had promised to come near our anchoring-place within two days, had kept their words. In fact, a little before noon we perceived a fire not far from our watering-place; and there could be no doubt that it was kindled by them, as all our crew were on board. A great number of us immediately repaired in several boats to the place of rendezvous. It was the first time that General Dentrecasteaux had the pleasure of seeing any of the natives. They soon quitted their fire, and proceeded for some time through the paths made in the wood along the shore, in order to come still nearer to us. We went to meet them; and when we were near them they stopped, appearing well pleased at seeing us come ashore. There were five of them. One of them carried a piece of decayed wood in his hand, lighted at one end, and burning slowly. He used this kind of match in order to keep fire, and amused himself now and then with setting it to a tuft, where there were some very dry herbs. The others being invited by some of our crew to dance in a ring with them, imitated all their movements tolerably well. We made them presents of a great number of things, which they let us hang round their necks with strings, and soon they were almost covered with them, apparently to their great satisfaction: but they gave us nothing, for they

had brought nothing with them, probably that they might walk with the more facility.

"A native, to whom we had just given a hatchet, displayed great dexterity at striking several times following in the same place, thus attempting to imitate one of our sailors, who had cut down a tree. We showed him that he must strike in different places, so as to cut out a notch, which he did immediately, and was transported with joy when the tree was felled by his strokes. They were astonished at the quickness with which we sawed the trunk in two; and we made them a present of some hand-saws, which they used with great readiness, as soon as we had shown them the way.

"From the manner in which we had seen them procure fish, we had reason to suppose that they had no fish-hooks: accordingly we gave them some of ours, and taught them how to use them, congratulating ourselves at having supplied them with the means of diminishing one of the most fatiguing employments of the women.

"These savages were much surprised at seeing us kindle the spongy bark of the *encalyptus resinifera* in the focus of a burning glass. He who appeared the most intelligent among them, desirous of trying the effects of the lens himself, threw the converging rays of the sun upon his thigh by its means; but the pain he felt took from him all inclination of repeating the experiment.

"We let one of the natives see our ships through a good perspective glass, and he soon yielded to our solicitations, to go on board the *Recherche* in one of our boats. He went up the side with an air of confidence, and examined the inside of the ship with much attention. His looks were then directed chiefly to such objects as might serve for food. Led by the similitude in shape, between the black swans of Cape Dieman and the geese of Guinea, which he saw on board, he asked for one, giving us to understand that it was to eat. When he came opposite to our hen-coops, he appeared struck

with the beauty of a very large cock, which was presented to him; and on receiving it he let us know, that he would lose no time in broiling and eating it. After having remained on board more than half an hour, and been loaded with presents, he desired to return, and was immediately carried ashore.

We had taken an ape on shore with us, which afforded much amusement to the savages; and one of the crew took a goat with him, which formed a subject of conversation for them a long time, and to which they occasionally spoke, saying, *medi* (sit down).

"In this interview we had an opportunity of adding considerably to the vocabulary of their language. On comparing it with the vocabulary, which several voyagers have given us, of the language of the people on the eastern coast of New Holland, it will be seen, that it has no affinity with them; which proves, that all these people have not one common origin.

"The savage, who had been on board our vessel, was not long before he quitted us, expressing much gratitude, and pointing to the cock, which he took upon one of his shoulders. The rest, before they went away, gave us to understand, that the next day their families would be at the place where we were; but they appeared to apprehend our meaning, when we acquainted them we should sail the same day, and seemed to be much grieved at it.

"We set ashore here a she-goat and a young he-goat, in hopes of naturalizing these animals in New Holland, as they could not fail to thrive on the mountains at the extremity of the country, and prove at some future period a great resource to navigators: it is only to be feared, that the savages may destroy them, before they have had time to propagate their breed."

Our navigators now finally departed from Rocky Bay, intending to pass through Dentrecasteaux Strait, but having struck on a sand-bank, the progress of the vessels were retarded, and they were obliged to come to anchor near Adven-

ture Bay, on the south-east point of Van Dieman's Land, where they again enjoyed an opportunity of observing the peculiarities of the natives. Their intercourse is thus related by our author:—

“Toward noon some of the natives appeared on the eastern shore, about half a mile from our ship. Some others soon joined them; and we could count as many as ten, when they kindled a fire, and seated themselves round it. From time to time they answered with shouts of joy the shouts of our sailors. We hastened on shore in a large party, to have a nearer view of them; and when we were but a little way from the beach, they advanced toward us without arms, their smiling countenances leaving us no room to doubt that our visit gave them pleasure. They were as destitute of clothes as those whom we had seen in the neighbourhood of Port D'Entrecasteaux; but we were much surprised to see most of them holding the extremity of the prepuce with the left hand; no doubt from a bad habit, for we did not observe any thing of the kind among some others who soon after joined them. Their joy was expressed by loud bursts of laughter; at the same time they carried their hands to their heads, and made a quick tapping with their feet on the ground, while their countenances showed, that they were well pleased to see us.

“Several other savages came out of the wood, and approached us. There were no women among them, but there were some young men. Among these was one of the middle size, whose figure, which we all admired, was very finely proportioned, even in the judgment of our painter. From his dress we presumed this savage to be a New Holland beau: he was tattooed with great symmetry, and his hair, plastered with grease, was well powdered with ochre.

“An officer belonging to our ship imagined, that he should not frighten them, by letting them see the effects of our fire-arms: but as most of them were not previously informed of his design, they were alarmed at the report of the gun, imme-

diately rose, and would not sit down again. Supposing their wives and children were retired to a little distance in the wood, we expressed to them our wishes to see them join us; and the savages informed us that we should find them, after walking some time across the wood in a path, which led toward the south-south-west, and which they immediately took, inviting us to follow them. This we did: but it was not long before they expressed their desire to see us return toward our ships, and parted from us, frequently looking back to watch our motions.

“Almost all of them were tattooed with raised points, sometimes placed in two lines, one over the other, much in the shape of a horse-shoe; though frequently these points were in three straight and parallel lines on each side of the breast: some were observed, too, toward the bottom of the shoulder blades, and in other places. In many the navel appeared puffed up, and very prominent, but we assured ourselves, that this deformity was not occasioned by a hernia. Perhaps it is owing to the too great distance from the abdomen, at which the umbilical cord is separated.”

CHAP. XLI.

The Calcutta appointed to convey the first Establishment to Van Dieman's Land—Passage from England—Arrival at Port Phillip.

As the Calcutta was found insufficient to convey the necessary stores to the new settlement, the Ocean, a merchant ship of 500 tons burthen, was chartered for that purpose, and was afterwards to proceed to China, for a cargoes of teas : on board her were embarked the civil, and part of the military officers, and settlers ; together with the greater part of the stores, provisions, and implements of agriculture ; while the Calcutta conveyed a detachment of marines, the whole of the convicts, their wives and children, and the remainder of the stores, as well as a considerable quantity for Port Jackson.

The following was the Establishment for the New Colony.
Civil Department.—1 Lieutenant Governor, 480*l.* per year, —1 Deputy Judge-advocate, 10*s.* per day,—1 Chaplain, 10*s.* ditto,—1 Deputy Commissary, 7*s.* 6*d.* ditto,—1 Surgeon, 10*s.* ditto,—2 Assistant Surgeons ; 1*st.* 7*s.* 6*d.*—2*d.* 5*s.* ditto,—1 Surveyor, 7*s.* 6*d.* ditto,—1 Mineralogist, 7*s.* 6*d.* ditto,—2 Superintendants of Convicts, each 50*l.* per year,—4 Overseers, each, 25*l.* ditto,—1 Superintendant of Artificers, 45*l.* ditto.

Military Department, &c.—one Captain Commandant. (Lieut. Governor.)—2 1*st* Lieutenants.—1 2*d* ditto.—3 Sergeants.—3 Corporals.—2 Drums.—39 Rank and File.—5 Women, and 1 child.—307 Male Convicts, with 17 of their wives ; and 7 children.

The Calcutta arrived at Portsmouth, from the river Medway, in the middle of February 1803, where she waited the junction of the Ocean, which was protracted until the 8th of April. In bidding farewell to England, it may naturally be

supposed, that the feelings of the motley crew would be as various as their situations, their prospects, or their characters; yet the general sentiment seemed to be that of entire indifference: a few women alone, whose birth and education had promised them a far different fate, were effected by this heart-rending, though voluntary, exile from their native country; and

“ Shudd’ring still, to face the distant deep,
“ Return’d, and wept, and still return’d to weep.”

Among the convicts on board, were some who, by prodigality, and its attendant vices, had degraded themselves, from a respectable rank in society, and were indebted to the lenity of their prosecutors alone for an escape from the last sentence of the law. Some of these men were accompanied by their wives, who had married them in the sunshine of prosperity, when the world smiled deceitfully, and their path of life appeared strewn with unfading flowers; in the season of adversity, they would not be separated, but reposed their heads upon the same thorny pillow; and as they had shared with them the cup of joy, they refused not that of sorrow. Those alone who know the miserable and degraded situation of a transported felon, can appreciate the degree of connubial love, that could induce these women to accompany their guilty husbands in their exile. The laws can only make distinction in crimes, while the criminals, whatever may have been their former situation in life, must suffer alike for crimes of the same nature: it entirely depended upon the officers to ameliorate their condition, and grant such indulgences, as the nature and degree of the crime, and the otherwise general character and conduct of the prisoner seemed to deserve. To these helpless females, all the attentions that humanity dictated, and that the nature of the service would admit, were extended, but still it was impossible to separate their situations entirely from their guilty husbands, they were conse-

quently far, very far, from being comfortable; and one of them, borne down by the first hardships of the voyage, which she felt with redoubled force from being far advanced in her pregnancy, fell a victim to her misplaced affection before their arrival at Teneriffe.

The ships sailed direct from Santa Cruz to Cape Verd Islands, and from thence to Rio de Janeiro, which is found the most convenient rout for vessels bound to the coast of New Holland. Rio de Janeiro has now become the metropolis of a kingdom, and the residence of the royal fugitives of Portugal. Its importance has recently been augmented by circumstances as various as unexpected; and though it does not immediately belong to our subject, we hope to be pardoned in making a short digression on the morals and situation of a people whose interests and whose actions so intimately concern our own country. To this we are the more inclined, from the lively, and we believe correct, description of the social manners of the Brasilians, given by Mr Tuckey.

"Those gradations of fortune," says our Adventurer, "which exist in, and indeed appear to be the necessary consequences of a well-regulated society, are not to be found in the Brasils; the only distinction is the rich and poor; the former are proud though ignorant, and ostentatious though avaricious; and the superabundance of all the mere necessities of life alone, prevents the latter from being indigent beggars. Those who can acquire half a dozen slaves, live in idleness upon the wages of their labour, and stroll the streets in all the solemnity of self-importance. In their general expences, the rich are penurious, and the marriage of their children alone seems to thaw their frozen generosity: on these occasions, they run into the contrary extreme, and ridiculous extravagance becomes the order of the day. I have seen a bridal *chemise*, the needle-work of which had cost fifty pounds, and the rest of the marriage paraphernalia was in the same proportion of expence. Their entertainments

are profuse in proportion as they are rare, but seldom possess any title to elegance, and sometimes want even common cleanliness to recommend them to an English appetite. The carriages in use among the rich are cabriolets, drawn by mules, and chairs curtained round, in which they are carried through the streets by negro slaves; the latter are also female conveyances. Gaming, the peculiar vice of idleness, is prevalent among the men. Pharoah is their favourite game, and the fickle goddess is here pursued with as much avidity as at Brooks's or Almack's; it is but justice to the Brazilian ladies to say, that they bear no part in this destructive vice, but whether from want of inclination, or from restraint, I cannot take upon me to say.

"The manners of the Brazilians are, however, gradually converging towards that liberal system, which appears to be continually gaining ground in the world, and which will probably be one day universally established, in exact proportion to the peculiar physical and moral attributes of man in the climate he inhabits. The usual dress of both sexes is adopted from the French; swords and cocked hats are entirely out of fashion, and cloaks are now only worn by the vulgar. The men who have had any intercourse with the English, adopt their customs, even to minuteness; hence, cropped heads, round hats, and half boots, have ceased to be considered a foreign costume. The women wear their waists very short, their bosoms much exposed, and their head-dresses and naked arms covered with a profusion of sparkling stones, which are of little value here; the ladies, however, as well as the men, seem to prefer attiring themselves *a la mode d'Angleterre*, when it is in their power. An English milliner who stopped here, on her way to India, performed greater metamorphoses on the external form of some young ladies, than can be equalled in the pages of Ovid. The features of the females can in no instance that I saw, claim the title of beautiful, and even very few the epithet of pretty: however, their black eyes, large, full, and sparkling, give a degree of bril-

fiancy to their dark complexions, and throw some expression into their countenances ; but it is too generally the mere expression of animal vivacity, untempered by the soft chastising power of tender sensibility. Their eye-brows are finely arched ; their eye-lashes long and silken ; their hair is long, black, and coarsely luxuriant ; and if we may judge from the frequent application of the fingers, it is not always without inhabitants. In their persons, they are unacquainted with that delicate property, from which our countrywomen derive so large a portion of their power over the other sex, and for which they are conspicuous over all the nations of Europe. Among other habits of the Brazilian ladies, which, separately considered, are perhaps trifling, but when combined, form a powerful opposition to the empire of female charms, is that of continually spitting, without regard either to manner, time, or place.

“ The young ladies who are educated in the convents are permitted to converse even with strangers at the grate, and often shewed their partiality for our countrymen, by the interchange of pocket-handkerchiefs and other trifles. There is something so interesting in the silvery tones of a secluded damsel, when two rows of iron bars intervene to prevent a near approach, something so Pyramus and Thisbe like, that the heart of a true-born Englishman cannot fail being captivated. ’Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,” and while he repeats the swelling names of Magdelina, Antonia, or Seraphina, he deprecates the hell-invented barrier, that precludes him from imprinting the impassioned kiss on the hand of the sweetly pensive recluse. For the encouragement of my enamoured countrymen, who might otherwise give way to despondency, and pine in hopeless love, I cannot help informing them, that the iron bars of the convents are not quite so hard as adamant, nor the walls so high as to render an *escalade* impracticable ; and that the watchful eye of the dragon, who guards the Hesperian fruit, has more than once

been eluded by British ingenuity, or lulled to sleep by Brazilian gold.

"The custom of dropping bouquets upon the heads of passengers, as signals to assignation, is no longer to be found at Rio, and as we have no reason to doubt the veracity of the gentlemen who accompanied Captain Cook, who were thus favoured, we ought not to pass over this alteration in the manners of the Brazilian women without notice, though we may not be able to account for it.

"In the females of Brasil, as well as of other countries in the torrid zone, there is no resting time between the periods of perfection and decline; like the delicate fruits of the soil, the genial warmth of the sun forces them to a premature ripeness, and after a momentary bloom sinks them towards decay: at fourteen they become mothers, at sixteen the blossoms of their beauty are full blown, and at twenty they are withered like the faded rose in autumn. Thus the lives of three of these daughters of the sun are scarce equal to that of one European; among the former the period of their bodily perfections far precedes that of the mental ones, in the latter they accompany each other hand in hand.

"In the Brasils, the licentious intercourse of the sexes perhaps equals what we are told prevailed in the most degenerate period of Imperial Rome. The primary cause of this general corruption of manners, must be referred to climate, which acts forcibly in giving strength to the physical properties of love. In proportion as the passion for enjoyment is excited, the fear of losing the object which confers it is increased, and hence proceeds the constitutional jealousy of men in warm climates. In the Brasils, the moment a girl is betrothed she becomes subject to all the restraints imposed by this rankling passion; and should the absence of her intended husband be unavoidable, previous to the nuptial ceremony, he often causes her to be immured within the walls of a convent till his return. By such suspicions he too often creates the evil he complains of, and then punishes the crime

he has provoked ; and while he thus becomes the arbiter of his own fate, he accuses Nature of causing all his sufferings.

“ Most of the imported negroes are sent to the mines to replace those who have fallen victims to their insalubrious atmosphere ; many of them die shortly after their arrival, from change of climate and food, and a few from mental despondency, which is here degraded by the name of sulkiness. The negro is not always devoid of that courage and fortitude that marks the superiority of his European tyrant ; he suffers pain with the most stoical indifference, and often dares his master to punish him by inflicting tortures on himself. Many negroes retreat to the fastnesses in the mountains, where they form a body of implacable marauders, and warm with revenge, commit unceasing depredations upon the neighbour-farmers*”.

* Senor D. was a wealthy planter in the district of the mines, and among his numerous slaves was one named Hanno, who had been born on the estate, and whose ingenuity had increased his value much beyond that of his fellows. Scarce had Hanno arrived at that age when every zephyr seems the sigh of love, ere his fondest wishes centered on Zelida, a young female of his own age, and a slave to the same master ; in her his partial eye perceived all that was beautiful in person, or amiable in mind ; the passion was mutual, it had “ grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength ;” but Hanno, though a slave, possessed the feelings of a man, and his generous soul revolted at the idea of entailing that slavery upon his children, which was the only birth-right he inherited from his fathers. His mind was energetic, and his resolutions immutable : while he fulfilled his daily task, and was distinguished for his diligence and fidelity, he was enabled, by extra labour and the utmost frugality, to lay by something, without defrauding his master of his time ; and at the end of seven years, his savings amounted to the estimated value of a female slave. Time had not altered his passion for Zelida, and they were united by the simple and unartificial bonds of mutual love. The absence of Senor D. for two years prevented the accomplishment of Hanno's first wishes, the purchase of Zelida's freedom, and in that time she had presented him with a boy and a girl. Though slaves from their birth, Hanno was not chagrined, for he had now added to his hoard a sufficient sum to pur-

Our voyagers had a continuance of favourable wind from the American coast to the Cape of Good Hope, where they procured refreshments, and took in live stock for the intended colony. They afterwards experienced very inclement weather, which proved fatal to some of the colonial cattle. From the island of St. Paul to the coast of New Holland, their track was confined to the parallels of 38 and 39 degrees.

chase their liberty likewise. On the return of Senor D. Hanno anxiously demanded a compliance with the law, but well aware of his master's sordid avarice, cautiously affirmed, that a kind friend was to advance him the money. Senor D. agreed to receive the price, and a day was fixed to execute the deeds before a magistrate. On that day Hanno fled upon the wings of hope to his master's house, while it may be supposed the most heartfelt joy animated his bosom, on the prospect of giving immediate liberty to those his soul doated on. He tendered the gold—it was seized as the stolen property of Senor D. ; and Hanno being unable to bring forward the supposed lender, was condemned, and the cruelty of his master was exhausted in superintending his punishment. Still bleeding from the scourge, he returned to his hut, which, though the residence of slavery, had till now been cheered by the benign influence of love and hope. He found his wife suckling her infant daughter, while his son, yet unable to walk, was amusing her with his playful gambols upon the bare earth. Without answering Zelida's anxious enquiries, he thus addressed her : “ To procure your liberty, more dear to me than my own, I have, since the moment of our acquaintance, deprived myself of every comfort my state of bondage allows ; for that purpose, I have laboured during those permitted hours of relaxation, which my fellows have employed in amusements ; I have curtailed my scanty meal of cassada, I have sold my morsel of tobacco, and I have gone naked amidst the burning heats of summer, and the pinching colds of winter. I had accomplished the object of all my cares, and all my deprivations, and this morning I tendered to your owner the price of your liberty, and that of your children ; but when the deed was to be ratified before the magistrate, he seized it as his own, and accusing me of robbery, inflicted the punishment of a crime my soul detests. My efforts to procure your liberty are abortive ; the fruits of my industry, like the labours of the silk-worm, are gone to feed the luxury of our tyrant ; the blossoms of hope are for ever blighted, and the wretched Hanno's cup of misery is full. Yet, a way, a sure,

"On Saturday, October 10," says Mr Tuckey, "we at last made King Island, in the entrance of Bass's Straits, which we had anxiously looked out for the two preceding days; the wind being from the N. E. obliged us to stand within three miles of the island, which through the haze we observed to be moderately high and level, with three sandy hills nearly in the centre. The increasing breeze and lowering sky, which portended a coming gale, prevented our examining the island more minutely. Fortunately we stood off in time to gain a sufficient offing before the gale commenced, which during the night blew a perfect hurricane between the N.W. and S.W. This night of danger and anxiety was succeeded by a morning beautifully serene, which shewed us the southern coast of New South Wales. From the total want of information respecting the appearance of the land on this coast, we were doubtful as to our situation, and approached the shore with cautious diffidence; at length the break in the land, which forms the entrance of Port Phillip, was observed, but a surf, apparently breaking across it, created at first some

but dreadful way remains, to free you, my wife, from the scourge of tyranny, or the violation of lust, and to rescue you, my children, from the hands of an unfeeling monster, and from a life of unceasing wretchedness." Then seizing a knife, he plunged it into the bosom of his wife, and while reeking with her blood, buried it in the hearts of his children. When seized and interrogated, he answered with a manly firmness, "I killed my wife and children to shorten a miserable existence in bondage, but I spared my own life to shew my brutal tyrant how easy it is to escape from his power, and how little the soul of a negro fears death or torment. I expect to suffer the utmost tortures that your cruelty can devise, but pain I despise thus, (staking his arm on an iron spike, and tearing it through the flesh,) and death I desire, that I may rejoin my wife and children, who have, ere this, a habitation prepared for me in the land of our forefathers, where no cruel white man is permitted to enter," Even the proud apathy of the Portuguese was roused by this appeal to their feelings; the slave was pardoned and granted his freedom, Senor D. severely fined, and the unworthy magistrate, who seconded his villany, degraded from his office.

S T.

mistrust of its identity, until the man at the mast-head observing a ship at anchor within, which was soon recognized for the Ocean, removed all doubt, and without farther hesitation we pushed in for the entrance. A fair wind and tide soon carried us through; and in a few minutes we were presented with a picture highly contrasted with the scene we had lately contemplated: an expanse of water bounded in many places only by the horizon, and unruffled as the bosom of unpolluted innocence, presented itself to the charmed eye, which roamed over it in silent admiration. The nearer shores, along which the ship glided at the distance of a mile, afforded the most exquisite scenery, and recalled the idea of "Nature in the world's first spring." In short, every circumstance combined to impress our minds with the highest satisfaction for our safe arrival, and in creating those emotions which diffused themselves in thanksgiving to that Almighty Guide, who conducted us through the pathless ocean, to the spot of our destination."

CHAP. XLII.

Transactions at Port Phillip—Survey of the Port—Natives—Communication with Port Jackson—Determination to remove the Colony—Examination of Western Port—Removal of the Colony to the River Derwent.

THE week after the arrival of the colonists at Port Phillip was occupied in searching for an eligible place to fix the settlement. As it was of the first consequence that this should be of easy access to the shipping, the shores near the mouth of the port were first examined. Here, to their great mortification, they observed a total want of fresh water, and found the soil so extremely light and sandy, as to deny all hopes of successful cultivation. As it was, however, determined to land the people, a small bay, eight miles from the harbour's

ground, was pitched upon for that purpose, where, by sinking casks, water of a tolerable quality was procured, and here the camp was pitched; and on the 16th of October, the marines and convicts were landed, while the ships immediately began to discharge their cargoes.

On the first days of their landing, previous to the general debarkation, Capt. Woodriff, Colonel Collins, and the First Lieutenant of the *Calcutta* had some interviews with the natives, who came to the boats entirely unarmed, and without the smallest symptom of apprehension; presents of blankets, biscuit, &c. were given to them, with which, except in one instance, they departed satisfied and inoffensive. The wash streak of the boat striking one of their fancies, he seized it and threw it behind the bushes: to shew him the impropriety of this, the blankets which had before been given them were taken away, and they were made to understand, that they would not be restored until the board was brought back by him who conveyed it away: this, after some delay and much reluctance, was at last done.

Though the vicinity of the harbour's mouth afforded no situation calculated for the establishment of the colony, it was naturally expected from the extent of the port, (its extremes being sunk in the horizon,) that convenient spots might be found; and the First Lieutenant of the *Calcutta*, with two boats, was directed to ascertain this material point, by as careful a survey of the port as the time would permit. From the reports of this survey, made to Capt. Woodriff, the following descriptive particulars are extracted:—

Port Phillip lies in the bottom of a deep bight between Cape Albany Otway and Point Schank. Coming from the westward, the port may be known by a single bluff head-land without trees, rising from low land, thickly wooded, about four leagues to the westward of the entrance, to which they gave the name of Whale-head, from its resemblance to that fish. The prevalence of southerly winds renders Port Phillip easily accessible, but in the same proportion the egress is

difficult, for Point Schanck bearing S. E. and Cape Otway S. W. it is obvious that with the wind at south a ship would not clear either, and the heavy swell that constantly tumbles on the coast between Port Phillip and Western Port, will often render it impossible (particularly in light winds) to keep off the shore, which here presents a continued barrier of rock, that denies the smallest hopes of escape to those dashed upon it.

The face of the country bordering on the port is beautifully picturesque, swelling into gentle elevations of the brightest verdure, and dotted with trees, as if planted by the hand of taste, while the ground is covered with a profusion of flowers of every colour; in short, the external appearance of the country flattered the colonists into the most delusive dreams of fruitfulness and plenty.

The soil (except in a few places where marl is found mixed with vegetable mould,) is invariably sandy, and its blackness proceeds from the ashes of the burnt grass, which has every where been set fire to by the natives. The proportion of sand varies, and in some spots the soil may be sufficiently strong to produce vegetables, and, perhaps, Indian corn; but it may safely be asserted, that (excepting a few acres at the head of the port) no spot within five miles of the water will produce wheat or any other grain that requires either much moisture or good soil. On some of the highest elevations an arid sea-sand is found, giving nourishment to no other vegetable than heath and fern. The bases of the hills consist of very coarse granite, which is here found in every stage of formation, from grains scarcely adhering, and crumbling into sand between the fingers, to the perfect stone which almost defies the chissel.

The great scarcity of water is one of the greatest disadvantages the port labours under. In the narrow glens between the hills, the marks of water-courses are visible, but at this time (October) they are mostly dried up; pools of fresh water are found scattered about the port, but they are merely

drains from swamps, and from their stagnation are strongly impregnated with decayed vegetable substances.

On the eastern side of the port, twenty-eight miles from the entrance, a stream of fresh water empties itself into the port. This stream runs through an extensive swamp, and appears to be a branch from a large river, at the northern extremity of the port, which the shortness of time and badness of the weather prevented our examining. The bed of this stream is covered with foliaceous mica, which our people at first conceived to be gold dust, and thence expected they had discovered an *Elsatedorado*.

On the west side of the port is an extensive lagoon, the water of which is too shoal to admit even small boats but at full tides; and in several places salt lagoons are found, generally closed by the beach, where ducks, teal, and swans, are found in abundance.

The timber, within five miles of the beach, is chiefly the she-oak, which is only fit for cabinet work; the trees are open, and the country is entirely free from under-wood, except in the swamps, which are always covered with an impenetrable brush. The other kinds of timber trees are very thinly scattered within the above limits; they are the blue-gum, stringy-bark, honeysuckle, box, and a kind of pine; of these the three first grow to a large size, and when sound, would probably be useful in ship-building. From the lightness of the soil, as well as its want of depth, the trees shoot their roots horizontally, and having no hold of the ground, are blown down in great numbers by every strong wind.

The kangaroo is the largest animal in the neighbourhood of Port Phillip. The native dog, the opossum, flying squirrel, and field-rat, make up the catalogue of animals observed there. Aquatic birds are found in abundance on the lagoons, as are black swans, ducks, teal, black and pied shags, pelicans, gulls, red-bills (a beach bird), herons, curlews, and sand larks; the land birds are eagles, crows, ravens, quail, bronze-winged pigeons, and many beautiful varieties of the

parrot tribe, particularly the large black cockatoo; the emu is also a native of this part of the country, its eggs having been found here. Three varieties of snakes were observed, all of which appeared to be venomous. The species of insects are almost innumerable: among them are upwards of one hundred and fifty different kinds of beautiful moths; several kinds of beetles, the animated straw, &c. The swamps are inhabited by myriads of mosquitoes of an extraordinary size; but the common fly, which swarms almost beyond belief, possesses all the offensive powers of the mosquito, its sting creating an equal degree of pain and inflammation. Wasps are also common, but no bees were seen.

Fish, it may safely be asserted, is so scarce that it could never be depended on as a source of effectual relief in the event of scarcity. Several varieties of the ray were almost the only ones caught, with sometimes a few mullet, and other small fish; in general, a day's work with the seine produced scarcely a good dish of fish. The number of sharks which infest the harbour may occasion this scarcity of small fish. The rocks outside the harbour's mouth are frequented by seals and sea-elephants. The shell-fish are oysters, limpets, mussels, scallops, cockles, sea-eels; and very large cray-fish are found among the rocks.

Deeming minerals, as well as limestone, coal, and clays, of the greatest consequence to the colony, particular attention was paid to searching for them; the only appearance of minerals was in large masses of iron-stone, in some specimens of which, the shape, colour, and weight, seemed to authorize the conclusion of its richness. Limestone was found in many places, but the search for coal was fruitless. Several kinds of clay fit for pottery, bricks, &c. were found in abundance, but always, more or less, mixed with sand; indeed, after displacing a thin covering of sand and ashes, the bottom, in most places, was found to be a soft friable sand-stone, of a yellowish colour.

With respect to climate, they had not sufficient time to judge of its effects on the human constitution; the vicissitudes of heat and cold are very great, the thermometer varying from 50 to 96 deg. between sun-rise and noon of the same day; and on the 19th and 21st of October it froze pretty smartly at the head of the port. The N. W. winds, which come on in violent squalls, have all the disagreeable effects of the sirocco of the Levant, but seldom last more than an hour, when the wind returns to the S.W. with thunder, lightning, and rain.

The N. W. side of the port, where a level plain extends to the northward as far as the horizon, appears to be by far the most populous; at this place, upwards of two hundred natives assembled round the surveying boats, and their obviously hostile intentions made the application of fire-arms absolutely necessary to repel them, by which one native was killed, and two or three wounded. Previous to this time, several interviews had been held with separate parties, at different places, during which the most friendly intercourse was maintained, and endeavoured to be strengthened, by presents of blankets, beads, &c. At these interviews they appeared to have a perfect knowledge of the use of fire-arms; and as they seemed terrified even at the sight of them, they were kept entirely out of view. The last interview which terminated so unexpectedly hostile, had at its commencement the same friendly appearance. Three natives, unarmed, came to the boats, and received fish, bread, and blankets. Feeling no apprehension from three naked and unarmed savages, the First Lieutenant proceeded with one boat to continue the survey, while the other boat's crew remained on shore to dress dinner and procure water. The moment the first boat disappeared the three natives took leave, and in less than an hour returned with forty more, headed by a chief who seemed to possess much authority. This party immediately divided, some taking off the attention of the people who had charge of the tent, while the rest surrounded the boats, the oars,

masts, and sails of which were used in erecting the tent. Their intention to plunder was immediately visible, and all the exertions of the boat's crew were insufficient to prevent their possessing themselves of a tomahawk, an axe, and a saw. In this situation, as it was impossible to get the boat away, every thing belonging to her being on shore, it was thought advisable to temporise, and wait the return of the other boat, without having recourse to fire-arms, if it could possibly be avoided; and for this purpose, bread, meat, and blankets were given them. These condescensions, however, seemed only to increase their boldness, and their numbers having been augmented by the junction of two other parties, amounted to more than two hundred. At this critical time the other boat came in sight, and observing the crowd and tumult at the tent, pushed towards them with all possible dispatch. Upon approaching the shore, the unusual warlike appearance of the natives was immediately observed, and as they seemed to have entire possession of the tent, serious apprehensions were entertained for Mr Harris and two of the boat's crew, who it was noticed were not at the boat. At the moment that the grapple was hove out of the Lieutenant's boat, to prevent her taking the ground, one of the natives seized the master's mate, who had charge of the other boat, and held him fast in his arms, a general cry of "Fire, Sir; for God's sake, fire!" was now addressed from those on shore to the First Lieutenant. Hoping the report only would sufficiently intimidate them, two muskets were fired over their heads; for a moment they seemed to pause, and a few retreated behind the trees, but immediately returned clapping their hands, and shouting vehemently. Four muskets with buck shot, and the fowling-pieces of the gentlemen with small shot, were now fired among them, and from a general howl, very different from their former shouts, many were supposed to be struck. This discharge created a general panic, and leaving their cloaks behind, they ran in every direction among the trees. It was hoped the business would have terminated here, and

orders were, therefore, given to strike the tent, and prepare to quit the territory of such disagreeable neighbours. While thus employed, a large party were seen again assembling behind a hill, at the foot of which was our tent: they advanced in a compact body to the brow of the hill, every individual armed with a spear, and some, who appeared to be attendants of others, carrying bundles of them; when within an hundred yards of us they halted, and the chief, with one attendant, came down to the tent, and spoke with great vehemence, holding a very large war spear in a position for throwing. The First Lieutenant, wishing to restore peace if possible, laid down his gun, and advancing to the chief, presented him with several cloaks, necklaces, and spears, which had been left behind on their retreat; the chief took his own cloak and necklace, and gave the others to his attendant. His countenance and gestures all this time betrayed more of anger than fear; and his spear appeared every moment upon the point of quitting his hand. When the cloaks were all given up, the body on the hill began to descend, shouting and flourishing their spears. The people were immediately drawn up, and ordered to present their muskets loaded with ball, while a last attempt was made to convince the chief, that if his people continued to approach they would immediately be fired upon. These threats were either not properly understood, or were despised, and it was deemed absolutely necessary for our own safety, to prove the power of our fire-arms, before they came near enough to injure us with their spears; selecting one of the foremost, who appeared to be most violent, as a proper example, three muskets were fired at him at fifty yards distance, two of which took effect, and he fell dead on the spot, the chief turning round at the report saw him fall, and immediately fled among the trees; a general dispersion succeeded, and the dead body was left behind.

Among these savages, gradations of rank could be distinctly traced, founded most probably upon personal qualities and external appearance. In these respects the chief far excelled.

the rest; his figure was masculine and well-proportioned, and his air bold and commanding. When first he was seen approaching the boat, he was raised upon the shoulders of two men, and surrounded by the whole party, shouting and clapping their hands. Besides his cloak, which was only distinguished by its superior size, he wore a necklace of reeds, and several strings of human hair over his breast. His head was adorned with a coronet of the wing-feathers of the swan, very neatly arranged, and which had a pleasing effect. The faces of several were painted with red, white, and yellow clays, and others had a reed or bone run through the septum of the nose, perhaps increasing in length according to rank, for the chiefs was by far the longest, and must have measured at least two feet. Ornamental scars on the shoulders were general, and the face of one was deeply pitted as if from the small-pox, though that disease is not known to exist in New Holland. A very great difference was observed in the comparative cleanliness of these savages; some of them were so abominably beastly, that it required the strongest stomach to look on them without nausea, while others were sufficiently cleanly to be viewed without disgust. The beards, which are remarkably bushy, in the former were allowed to grow, while in the latter they were cut close, apparently by a sharp instrument, probably a shell.

The only covering they make use of, to preserve their person's from the winter's cold, is a square cloak of opossum skins, neatly sewed together, and thrown loosely over their shoulders; the fleshy side, which is worn inwards, is marked with parallel lines, forming squares, lozenges, &c. and sometimes with uncouth human figures in the attitudes of dancing.

Their arms are spears, used with a throwing stick, like those of Port Jackson; their shields are made of a hard wood and neatly carved; their war-spears are barbed with pieces of white spar, or shark's teeth, fastened on with red gum, and within a certain distance must be very dangerous offensive

weapons. Their fish-gigs are pointed with the bone of the kangaroo, and with them they strike the rays which lie in shoal water. They had no fish-hooks, nor other implements for fishing in deep water, nor any appearance of canoe, or other water conveyance. Their food consists chiefly of shell-fish, and their ingenuity in procuring more substantial aliment, seems confined to the construction of a rude trap, upon the projecting points of the harbour, where the water-fowl lighting at night are entangled and caught. The scarcity of food must at times reduce them to great extremities. If they ever quit the vicinity of the water, their sole subsistence must be on lizards, grubs, and the few opossums they may be able to kill; for the kangaroo, both by its activity and wariness, must be supposed to be out of the reach of their weapons, or their ingenuity. The skins of these animals having never been seen with the natives, corroborates this opinion, and it is probable, that the bones with which their fish-gigs are pointed, are those of animals which have died a natural death. That they scruple not to eat lizards and grubs, as well as a very large worm found in the gum-trees, we had ocular demonstration; indeed the latter they seem to consider a very great delicacy. Bread, beef, and fish, which were given to them, they devoured with great eagerness, swallowing large pieces without chewing, as if afraid of its being taken from them, but in no instance could they be induced to drink. Spirits they appeared to dislike from the smell alone, and sweet punch they would taste and spit out again with disapprobation. They chew the green leaves of various plants, several of which had a slight astringent taste, and an aromatic smell.

Their huts merely serve the purpose of temporary shelter from the weather. They are constructed of branches of trees slanting and open on one side, which is always to leeward; if a fallen tree is near, it usually serves to support the hut, and sometimes when coarse grass is convenient, it is interwoven with the branches. Their fires are made at the very en-

trance of the huts, and if the wind shifts must be immediately removed. An opportunity did not occur of observing their method of first kindling a fire, as the parties had always a fire-brand with them, by which, and a little dry grass, they soon make a "roaring blaze."

The only traces of society that could be observed, was in a cluster of five huts, near which a well of brackish water was probably the only inducement to so close a neighbourhood. How they supply themselves with water in general it is difficult to surmise, for, upon the closest examination, none was found within several miles of the place where they had constructed their huts. Sufficient proofs were, however, obtained of their burying their dead, by finding a human skeleton three feet under ground, while digging for water. Its decayed state evinced its having been in the ground long before the arrival of any European at this port.

"Nothing," says Mr Tuckey, "could offer a more perfect picture of reposing solitude, than the wilds of Port Phillip on our first arrival. Here Contemplation, with her musing sister Melancholy, might find an undisturbed retreat. Often at the calm hour of evening I have wandered through the woods,

Where the rude axe with heaved stroke
Was never heard the nymphs to daunt,
Or fright them from their hallow'd haunts.

"The last hymn of the feathered choiristers to the setting sun, and the soft murmurs of the breeze, faintly broke the death-like silence that reigned around; while the lightly trodden path of the solitary savage, or the dead ashes of his fire, alone pointed out the existence of human beings. In the course of a very few weeks the scene was greatly altered; lanes were cut in the woods for the passage of the timber carriages; the huts of the woodmen were erected beneath the sheltering branches of the lofty trees; the 'busy hum' of their voices, and the sound of their axes, reverberating

through the woods, denoted the exertions of social industry, and the labours of civilization. At other times, sitting on the carriage of a gun, in front of the camp, I have contemplated with succeeding emotions of pity, laughter, and astonishment, the scene before me. When I viewed so many of my fellow-men, sunk, some of them from a rank in life, equal or superior to my own, and by their crimes degraded to a level with the basest of mankind ; when I saw them naked, wading to their shoulders in water to unlade the boats, while a burning sun struck its meridian rays upon their uncovered heads, or yoked to and sweating under a timber carriage, the wheels of which were sunk up to the axle in sand, I only considered their hapless lot, and the remembrance of their vices was for a moment absorbed in the greatness of their punishment ; I exclaimed with enthusiasm,

'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,
And we are weeds without it.

“ When, on the other hand, I viewed the lively appearance of the camp, the employments of the women, and the ridiculous dilemmas into which they were every moment thrown by the novelty of their situations, I smiled, and inwardly admiring the pliability of mind which enables us to accommodate ourselves to the vicissitudes of fortune, confessed that the pride of independance, and the keen sensibility of prosperity, like marks imprinted on the sand, are soon effaced by the current of adverse circumstances. What once seemed more valuable than life itself, even female virtue, grows weaker by degrees, and at last falls a sacrifice to present convenience ; so true is the poet's exclamation, that “ want will perjure the ne'er-touch'd vestal.”

“ And now again, when I considered the motives ; when I contrasted the powers, the ingenuity, and the resources, of civilized man, with the weakness, the ignorance, and the wants

of the savage he came to dispossess, I acknowledged the immensity of human intelligence, and felt thankful for the small portion dispensed to myself. These thoughts naturally led to the contemplation of future possibilities. I beheld a second Rome rising from a coalition of banditti. I beheld it giving laws to the world, and superlative in arms and in arts, looking down with proud superiority upon the barbarous nations of the northern hemisphere; thus running over the airy visions of empire, wealth, and glory, I wandered amidst the delusions of imagination."

The unfavourable account given of Port Phillip by the First Lieutenant of the Calcutta, immediately presented the necessity of removing the colony to a more eligible situation, but from a total want of knowledge respecting any recent discoveries, which might have been made on the neighbouring coasts, it was deemed necessary to receive instructions on this head from the Governor in Chief at Port Jackson. The Ocean transport, being now discharged, was to proceed on her voyage to China, and could not, therefore, be detained without a heavy expence to government. Thus the only means left of communicating with Port Jackson was by an open boat; a six-oared cutter was accordingly fitted for the purpose, in which Mr Collins (who came out on a sealing speculation) undertook to convey the Lieutenant-Governor's dispatches. After being nine days at sea, and encountering much bad weather, he was picked up by the Ocean (who sailed six days after him), within sixty miles of Port Jackson, and by her conveyed thither. Governor King, from a correct survey of Port Phillip, made by Mr Grimes, the Surveyor-General of the Colony, was already convinced of its ineligibility as a settlement, and immediately chartered the Ocean to remove the establishment, either to Port Dalrymple, on the north side of Van Dieman's land, or to the river Derwent, on the south coast of the same island, where a small party from Port Jackson was already established.

As the farther detention of the *Calcutta*, after the removal was finally concluded on, would greatly retard the principal object of her voyage, the conveying a cargo of ship timber to England, without any adequate advantage to the colony, she quitted Port Phillip on the 18th of December, leaving the Colonists preparing to re-embark on board the Ocean.

While the *Calcutta* remained at Port Phillip, besides the necessary duties of the ship, the crew were actively employed in collecting such specimens of ship-timber as the place afforded ; and about one hundred and fifty pieces of compass-timber, chiefly honeysuckle, were procured.

During the period of uncertainty, between the sailing of the boat, and the return of advices from Port Jackson, the First Lieutenant of the *Calcutta*, with several other officers, and a party of convicts to carry provisions, proceeded by land to examine Western Port, and ascertain the correctness of the description given of it by the first discoverers, particularly with respect to coal, in which it was said to abound. From the camp they proceeded across the peninsula to where the ridge of Arthur's Seat descends to the sea. This peninsula is formed entirely of sand, thrown up into round hillocks, and covered with coarse grass in tufts; the only trees here are the she-oak, which are small and open. After passing the ridge of Arthur's Seat they proceeded in a direction due east, nearly parallel to the sea-shore, of which they sometimes came in sight, until they reached a point projecting into the sea, which was supposed to be Cape or Point Schank ; in this space the land continues to rise, and forms in larger and steeper hills, separated by narrow glens, but the soil is still very sandy, and no water was to be found, even by digging in the hollows several feet deep. After passing Cape Schank, the country assumes a quite different appearance ; the soil changes to a stiff clay ; the she-oak gives place to the blue gum, and two strong runs of water fall into the sea immediately under the Cape. Here they halted for the night, and, following the example of the natives, erected a hut, and made

a fire within a few feet of its entrance. This point was supposed to be twenty-five miles distant from the camp. At day-light they again commenced their march, guided by a pocket-compass; and keeping at the distance of between three and five miles from the sea at noon reached Western Port, about two miles from its entrance. From Cape Schank the country is varied by hills and vallies, the soil of the former being a stiff clay, with very lofty gum-trees; and of the latter, a rich black mould several feet deep, except in a few spots where a black peaty earth was found. The grass in these vallies is extremely luxuriant; some of them are overgrown with under-wood, while others possess scarcely a single shrub. In this track are several small runs of water, emptying themselves into the sea by deep ravines.

The examination of Western Port was unavoidably confined to the space of a few miles on the western shore: this was principally owing to the man who carried the whole of the bread, having absconded soon after quitting the camp, and to being deceived in the extent of the Port, as well as the distance to it; which was found much greater than they had any idea of.

They were provisioned only for four days, at short allowance; for trusting to their guns for an addition to their fare, they employed most of the party to carry water, being ignorant whether any was to be found in their route.

From the entrance of the Port for about twelve miles along the western shore, there is but one place of commodious landing for boats; the beach being either a black plate rock, or a flat sand running out a quarter of a mile; upon which a long and dangerous surf continually breaks. There are three good runs of water in this space, which falling from the hills, from pools at their base, are absorbed by the soft sand of the beach. We found these pools covered with teal of a beautiful plumage, and, what was to us of much more importance, of a delicious flavour.

As their track to Western Port had never diverged more than five miles from the sea, it was determined, on returning, to endeavour to penetrate through the country in a north-west direction, which was supposed would bring them to Port Philip at about twenty miles distance from the camp. They accordingly set off at day-light of the third day, from their night's station, which was about five miles from the entrance of Western Port, and had scarce walked a quarter of a mile when they came to an immense forest of lofty gum-trees. The country here becomes very mountainous : in the vallies or rather chasms between the mountains, small runs of water trickle through an almost impenetrable jungle of prickly shrubs, bound together by creeping plants. After passing eight of these deep chasms in six miles, which was accomplished with infinite difficulty in four hours, they found the country grow still more impenetrable, vast fields of shrub as prickly as furze, arresting their progress every moment. Several of their people who carried the water, being unable to bear the fatigue any longer, they were obliged to give up their intention ; and, after a short rest, they shaped their course to the south-west, in order to approach the sea, where the country becomes open and less hilly. In this direction they found the country well watered, the soil very rich, and in many places meadows of from fifty to an hundred acres, covered with grass five feet high, and unincumbered with a single tree. At sun-set they reached the sea at Cape Schank, and, halting for the night, arrived at the camp in the afternoon of the next day.

Their search for coal, which they were given to understand abounded at Western Port, was fruitless ; but their examination was too circumscribed and superficial to authorize any positive assertion respecting it.

The coast between the ridge of Arthur's Seat and Western Port is bound by rocks of black stone, which was found to burn to a strong lime. The projecting points of land are high, bluff, and perpendicular, presenting a barrier to the sea

which breaks against them, even in the finest weather, with violence, denying shelter by anchorage, or safety by running on shore for the smallest boat.

Besides herds of kangaroos, four large wolves were seen at Western Port. Very beautiful bronze-winged pigeons with black and white cockatoos, and innumerable parrots, inhabit the woods.

Though this excursion added but little to the knowledge of the country, it is hoped it will not be entirely devoid of utility. In those spots which appeared best adapted to the purpose, seeds from Rio Janeiro and the Cape were sown, viz. oranges, limes, melons, pumpkins, Indian corn, and several kinds of garden seeds.

But two huts were found in their track, and not a native was seen; indeed the kangaroo seems to reign undisturbed lord of the soil, a dominion which, by the evacuation of Port Phillip, he is likely to retain for ages.

Several convicts absconded from the camp soon after their landing, led away by the most delusive ideas of reaching Port Jackson, or getting on board some whaler, which they ignorantly believed occasionally touched on this coast; some of them were brought back by parties sent after them, and others returned voluntarily, when nearly famished with hunger. Two only of these unfortunate beings were never heard of after leaving the camp, one of these was George Lee, a character well known to several persons of respectability in England.

After the Calcutta quitted Port Phillip, a vessel was sent to examine Port Dalrymple; the accounts brought back not being so favourable as was hoped for, it was finally determined to remove the colony to the river Derwent, which was partly accomplished before the Calcutta sailed from Port Jackson. The name of Hobart was given to the settlement, and the most flattering accounts were received from the lieutenant-governor, of the situation, soil, and climate. Speaking of the

climate, he says, that it may be considered the Montpelier of New South Wales. Subsequently, however, Port Dalrymple was again more minutely examined, when the excellence of its situation for commerce and defence determined its future destination. A strong party of convicts, settlers, and soldiers were accordingly settled there, and every exertion was made by Colonel Paterson, of the New South Wales corps, who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, to render it a fit and comfortable abode for civilized man. His intentions, after his departure for head-quarters at Sydney, were ably executed by Colonel Collins, whose knowledge and activity have proved extremely serviceable. The rapid growth of these settlements in Van Dieman's land has also been accelerated by the orders of government for the evacuation of Norfolk Island, the inhabitants of which were carried to Port Dalrymple and the river Derwent.

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APPENDIX.

THE fullest, clearest, and best substantiated account of the present state of the colony of New South Wales was produced in evidence on the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel George Johnson, major of the 102d regiment, late the New South Wales Corps, on a charge of mutiny exhibited against him by the crown, for deposing, on the 26th January, 1808, William Bligh, Esq. F. R. S. then Captain in his Majesty's navy (and since appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue) Captain-General and Governor in Chief, in and over the territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, held before a general court-martial at Chelsea Hospital, Tuesday, May 7th, 1811. We shall therefore exhibit an abstract of the most material evidence adduced on this important trial, as far as it tends to elucidate the causes of that singular transaction, or to communicate a knowledge of the circumstances of the colony. The court was constituted as follows :—

MEMBERS.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL KEPPEL, President.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir D. Baird.

————— Hon. E. Finch.

————— Dowdeswell.

Major-General Kerr.

Colonel Anson.

————— O'Loglin.

Lieut.-Col. Lord Proby.

Lieut.-Gen. Milner.

————— M'Donald.

Major-Gen. Hon. E. Paget.

Colonel Burnet.

————— Fyers.

————— Buller.

Lieut.-Col. Paterson.

RT. HON. CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON, Judge Adv. Gen.

The warrant for holding the court, together with the charge against Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, were read by the Judge Advocate, as follows:—

G. P. R.

WHEREAS it hath been most humbly represented unto us, that the following charge hath been preferred against Lieutenant-Colonel George Johnston, Major in his Majesty's 102d regiment of foot, viz.

“That Lieutenant-Colonel George Johnston, Major as aforesaid, did, on or about the 26th day of January, 1808, at Sydney, in the colony of New South Wales, begin, excite, cause, and join in a mutiny, by putting himself at the head of the New South Wales Corps, then under his command and doing duty in the colony, and seizing and causing to be seized and arrested, and imprisoning and causing to be imprisoned, by means of the above-mentioned military force, the person of William Bligh, Esq. then Captain-General and Governor in Chief in and over the territory of New South Wales:”

Which charge we have thought fit should be inquired into by a General Court Martial:—Our will and pleasure therefore is, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, that a General Court Martial be forthwith held on this occasion, which is to consist of Lieutenant-General William Keppel, Colonel of his Majesty's 67th or the South Hampshire regiment of foot, whom we appoint president thereof, and of a sufficient number of other officers of competent rank and quality, who can be conveniently summoned to attend the same. And you are to order the Provost Marshal General of his Majesty's forces, or his deputy, to give notice to the said president and officers, and all others whom it may concern, when and where the said Court Martial is to be held, and to summon such witnesses as may be able to give testimony

touching the charge above specified ; the said Provost Marshal General and his deputy being hereby required to obey your orders, and give their attendance where it shall be requisite. And we do hereby authorise and empower the said General Court Martial to hear and examine all such matters and information as shall be brought before them, touching the charge against the said Lieutenant-Colonel George Johnson, Major as aforesaid, and to proceed in the trial and giving sentence according to the rules of military discipline. And for so doing, this shall be, as well to you as to the General Court Martial, and to all others whom it may concern, a sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at Carlton House, this third day of April, 1811, in the fifty-first year of his Majesty's reign.
By the command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty.

R. RYDER.

*To the Right Hon. Charles Manners Sutton,
Judge Advocate-General of his Majesty's
Forces, or his Deputy.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson having pleaded not guilty, Governor Bligh read to the court a statement of the case in substance as follows :—

“ In the month of May, 1805, his Majesty was pleased to appoint me Captain General and Governor in Chief of the territory of New South Wales. With my commission, I had the honour to receive instructions under the sign manual accompanied by others from the Secretary of State, directing the conduct I was to pursue in my future government ; and thus prepared, on the 28th of January, 1806, I sailed from England, having a commission as a post-captain of his Majesty's ship Porpoise, with a commander under me, and was afterwards directed by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to wear a broad pendant, constituting me a commodore,

and to hoist the same on board of such other ship as might be at New South Wales.

“ I arrived there on the 5th of August following, and on the 13th read my commission, took the necessary oaths, and superceded Governor King in the command of the colony and its dependencies. On this occasion I received respectful addresses from the military and civil officers, free inhabitants, and others, congratulating me on my appointment and safe arrival, which were shortly afterwards followed by some others, that convinced me that dissensions prevailed in the settlement, and that much attention on my part would be necessary to preserve the peace and promote the unanimity of the inhabitants.

“ To ascertain the state of the colony, I visited many of the inhabitants individually, and witnessed many melancholy proofs of their wretched condition. A want even of the common necessities of life was too prevalent, particularly at the extensive settlement of the Hawkesbury; and although Sydney, the head-quarters, formed some exception to the general aspect, yet there the inhabitants and public storehouses were falling into decay; industry was declining; while a pernicious fondness for spirituous liquors was gaining ground, to the destruction of public morals and private happiness.”

Governor Bligh then proceeded to state the measures he adopted to check the pernicious custom of bartering spirits; the committal of Mr M'Arthur; the conduct of the six officers that formed the criminal court appointed to try him; and his subsequent release by order of Major Johnson.

“ Immediately after the order for the release of M'Arthur,” he continued, “ there followed an operation of the main guard close to the gate of the Government-House, and the regiment marched down from the barracks led on by Major Johnston and the other officers, with colours flying and music playing as they advanced to the house. Within a few minutes after, the house was surrounded; the soldiers quickly broke into all parts of it, and arrested all the magistrates, Mr

Gore the provost marshal, Mr Griffin my Secretary, and Mr Fulton the chaplain. I had just time to call to my orderly serjeant to have my horses ready while I went up stairs to put on my uniform, (the family being then in deep mourning) when on my return, as I was standing on the staircase waiting for my servant with my sword, I saw a number of soldiers rushing up stairs with their muskets and fixed bayonets, as I conceived to seize my person. I retired instantly into a back room, to defeat their object, and to deliberate on the means to be adopted for the restoration of my authority, which in such a critical situation could only be accomplished by my getting into the interior of the country adjacent to the Hawkesbury, where I knew the whole body of the people would flock to my standard. To this situation I was pursued by the soldiers, and after experiencing much insult, was conducted below by Lieutenant Minchin, who told me that Major Johnston was waiting for me. We passed together into the drawing-room, every part being crowded with soldiers under arms, many of whom appeared to be intoxicated.

"I then received a letter brought by Lieut. Moore, and signed by Major Johnston (calling himself Lieutenant Governor), requiring me to resign my authority, and to submit to the arrest under which he placed me; which I had scarcely perused, when a message was delivered to me that Major Johnson wished to speak to me in the adjoining room, at the door of which he soon after appeared, surrounded by his officers and soldiers; and in terms much to the same effect as his letter he there verbally confirmed my arrest. Martial law was proclaimed, my secretary and my friends were prevented from seeing me, and I was left only with my daughter and another lady..

"By Major Johnston's order several persons seized my cabinet and papers, with my commission, instructions, and the great seal of the colony. These were locked up in a room guarded by two sentinels, and several others were placed round the house to prevent my escape.

“The same evening committees were formed with a pretended view of examining into my government, but in reality to discover all such persons as were attached to me. In this M^rArthur took an active part.

“On the following day Lieutenant Moore came with Major Johnston’s orders, and carried away my swords and what fire arms he found in the house; at noon three vollies were fired by the soldiers, and twenty-one guns from the battery, while the royal standard was displayed. His Majesty’s Commissary, the Provost Marshal, the Judge Advocate, and the Chaplain, were suspended from their offices; all the magistrates were dismissed, and others appointed in their room; the most extraordinary and mutinous proclamations were issued, and even my broad pendant as Commodore on the station was ordered by Major Johnston to be struck. Thus was the mutiny complete: those who were concerned in it had got possession of the government, had turned out all the civil officers and substituted others in their room, and imposed on me an arrest which continued from the time of the mutiny till the 20th of February, 1809.

“The circumstances of indignity to which I was exposed during all the period of usurpation which followed the mutiny, I need not here state to this honourable Court; suffice it to say at present, that after experiencing various insults while under arrest, and many hardships after I was enlarged, being proscribed as an outlaw, Colonel Macquarie arrived at the colony on the 28th of December, 1809, with orders from his Majesty to reinstate me in my government, and to express his Majesty’s high disapprobation at the mutiny. Shortly after, I left the colony, and arrived in England the 25th of October, 1810.

“Thus have I endeavoured to give to this honourable Court such a statement of the mutiny as may be necessary to connect and explain the evidence that will be given: and here for the present, ignorant of what may be attempted to be asserted against me, and not willing to waste unnecessarily

the time of the Court, I shall rest my case. Should any justification be attempted, I doubt not this honourable Court will give me an opportunity of answering it by any additional witnesses, and by again submitting myself, or the witnesses who shall have been already examined, to a re-examination as to the matters to which they shall not already have been examined.

“What justification can be offered I am at a loss to conceive; and although I have seen the dispatch, which three months nearly after the event Colonel Johnston sent home to the Secretary of State, and which contains nothing but general and vague assertions, I am still as much in doubt what excuse can be presented to this honourable Court for a mutiny so unprecedented in the military annals of this country, so dangerous by its example, and in many of its effects to the colony so destructive.”

After some conversation respecting the time that had elapsed since the expulsion of Governor Bligh, it was decided by the Court that the accusation came within the limits of the act of parliament, as it appeared that the limited period had been exceeded without cause. The appointment of William Bligh, Esq. to be Governor of New South Wales, and his instruction, were then proved, after which he was examined on the part of the prosecution.

Have you the Admiralty order, authorisizing you to carry a broad pendant? Yes, sir.

Put it in. [*Read.*]

When did you first, in pursuance of his Majesty's commission, take upon yourself the government of New South Wales as Governor and Captain General? About the 13th of Aug. 1806.

To what period were you acting as such? To the 26th of January, 1808.

In what state did you find the colony upon your arrival? In a very miserable state.

Did you discover any, and what abuses, then existing with respect to spirits? There was a barter of spirits for articles that were wanting of every description, by those persons who had spirits to purchase them with.

Were the officers or soldiers at all interested in that barter of spirits, and if so, how? The officers were very much interested in the barter of spirits; so much so, as to be enabled to get whatever they wanted at a very cheap rate.

What with respect to the soldiers? The observation applies exactly the same to the soldiers, provided they could get it.

Did you take any measures to prevent this barter of spirits? Yes, sir.

What? By prohibiting the barter of spirits altogether; and it stands so in my public orders.

Have you those orders? Yes, sir; there is a copy of them in the common orderly book, and they have also been printed.

Did those measures of reform create any discontent in the colony; and if so, mention who were discontented, and on what account, and how they shewed their discontent? They did create discontent among a few.

Mention who were discontented. Those persons in particular who were connected with the mutiny, who were connected with my arrest; M'Arthur, and a few others, whose names are mentioned in my dispatches.

Was there a regiment in the settlement at that time called the New South Wales Corps, or the 102d regiment? Yes, sir.

Under whose command was this corps at that time? Major Johnston, at head-quarters; Colonel Paterson was colonel of the regiment, he was at one of the out-settlements, at Port Dalrymple, as Lieutenant Governor.

Who was then the senior officer in his Majesty's service at the colony? Am I to understand that any distinction is made between the colony and the territory?

At Sydney? Major Johnston.

Of the 102d? Of the New South Wales Corps then; I never knew it as the 102d till it came home.

In what state was the settlement in general in the month of January, 1808? In a very improved state, and the whole people happy and contented in a high degree, except as I mentioned in answer to a former question.

Was there the least danger of tumult or insurrection, or of any disturbance in the settlement, provided the military had remained true to you as the Governor? Not the least danger.

Did you receive any address as Governor on the first of January, 1808? I did.

What is that paper? It is the original address. [*Read.*]

By the Court. Signed by how many names; It appears to have been totalled 838.

Of the settled inhabitants, the landholders; all the respectable people, except a few as before mentioned; and it was delivered to me by persons who have come over to witness that these were the sentiments of the whole colony.

Are the landholders convicts? Some of the landholders are people who have been sent out as convicts, and who have got a quantity of land, to the extent perhaps of 50 or 100 acres, as ticket-of-leave-men; others are regular settlers. They are a mixture of those people, which has always been the case in that colony.

On the Part of the Prosecution.

Were any of them convicts at the time they signed the address? I really do not know: there may be some who were convicts, because many of the convicts are emancipated, and have spots of ground given them, which they cultivate for themselves. There may be convicts among them; I know nothing of them myself.

Judge Adv. I understand Captain Bligh to state, that the subscriptions to this address are composed of persons who have been sent as convicts to the settlement and of persons who have gone out thither as settlers, but he does not know

their respective names. That is followed up by a question, whether any of those who signed the address were convicts at the time. The answer introduces another description of persons: there are persons sent out as convicts who have served their time, and remain in the colony as settlers, and persons who went out originally as settlers, and there are persons also, who being convicts there, still are at liberty, and have land given them; therefore there are three descriptions of persons.

Was Mr John M'Arthur in January, 1808, under charge for certain supposed offences? Yes, sir.

Do you know whether any and what Court Martial met to try this charge on the 25th of January, 1808? No Court Martial whatever; the Criminal Court met.

When? On the 25th of January, 1808.

To try this supposed charge? Yes, sir.

Do you know the names of the members composing that Court? Yes, sir.

State them. Captain Anthony Fenn Kemp, Lieut. John Brabyn, Lieut. Wm. Moore, Lieut. Thomas Laycock, Lieut. William Minchin, Lieut. William Lawson.

Of what corps? All of the New South Wales Corps.

Who was at that time acting as Judge Advocate in the settlement, what had he to do in the Criminal Court? To preside, according to act of parliament, as Judge of the Court.

On the part of the Prosecution.

On the same day, (that is, on the 25th of January) was any application made to you by the Judge Advocate for redress? If so, what was the application, and against whom was it made? The Judge Advocate represented to me that he had been used extremely ill; that after he had sworn in the members of the Court, the six officers refused to swear him in until Mr M'Arthur had read a paper which was in his hand, (upon which the paper was read) and Mr Judge Advocate Atkins prevented from being a part of the Court. It

was of a most inflammatory tendency, the paper was, and scurrilous.

What did you do in consequence of this application? Re-late what passed between you and this Criminal Court on the occasion. Letters passed between us to induce me to change the Judge Advocate. I refused to appoint any other Judge Advocate, and declared there could be no Court without him. They however would not swear him in, or allow him to sit; upon which they detained his papers; and finally, Mr Atkins reported the case to me by a memorial.

What steps did you take with respect to the Court, and by whose advice: did you advise with any body? I had all the magistrates about me.

By the Court. Did you summon the magistrates to attend, or did they come by chance? They were sent for by me by message only, and they came: there was a consultation; and the result was, it was determined that Mr M'Arthur should be arrested.

What consultation? The magistrates and civil officers were at the Government House at that time; we were all together. Mr Judge Advocate Atkins came and read his memorial. Upon the memorial being read, circumstances were then considered to be in a very alarming way, and I wrote a letter to Major Johnston, requesting his attendance at Government House; and afterwards, when I found that Mr M'Arthur was let loose from the criminal court, circumstances were then thought so much more alarming that I immediately sent another letter to Major Johnston to come to me, as I wanted his advice and opinion upon the circumstances, as to what was necessary to be done. These are the letters I sent to Major Johnston.

Are those the original letters? Yes, sir.

Are those the letters you sent; is that the letter itself, or is it a copy? It is signed by Mr Griffin, my secretary. I ordered my secretary to sign it, and his name is to it. I don't know whether it is a copy or the original.

Do you know whether it is the same in words with the letter you sent? O, yes.

You saw the letter before it was sent? I did.

You dictated it? Yes. [*The first letter read.*]

Had you any answer to that? To that letter I received a verbal answer, that he could not come: I think it was, that he had fallen out of his chaise, and that he could not come. This is the second letter which I sent him, dated Government House, the 26th of January, the day after the first was sent. [*Read.*]

What answer did you receive to that; verbal or written? A verbal answer; all were verbal. That Major Johnston was too ill to come, and he would endeavour to get a person to write an answer in the evening. I think it was nearly to that amount.

On the part of the Prosecution.

Was any thing stated to you on the 25th of January by the Provost Marshal Mr Gore, relative to Mr M'Arthur and his bail? Yes.

What did you do about that? Mr Gore declared that Mr M'Arthur was out of his custody.

What did you do then? Myself and the magistrates then took the matter into consideration, and a warrant was issued, ordering M'Arthur into custody.

Who dined with you at the Government House on the 26th of January, and remained with you during the evening? There was Mr Campbell, a merchant, a gentleman who had been resident in the colony for some years; Mr Palmer, the commissary; Mr Griffin, the secretary; Mr Williamson, the deputy commissary: I am not sure whether there were any other persons there, I am not sure whether Mr Fulton was not there, I rather think he was not.

Did you see any soldiers approach the Government House on that evening? Yes.

What soldiers, what number of them, and at what time?

At what time I am sure I cannot say with precision ; it was about sun-down.

What soldiers were they ? They appeared to be the whole of the New South Wales Corps, or the greater part of them ; there might be a few sentinels left at the barracks.

Were they there with their arms ? All with their arms ; they marched up in battle array, with their colours flying and bayonets fixed.

Had they any officers with them ? Yes, sir.

Who were they ? Major Johnston was at the head of them ; he was the commanding officer. Before they reached Government House, Lieutenant Bell, who was the officer of the main guard, commonly called the Governor's guard, advanced suddenly with his men, burst through the gates, and surrounded the house ; the principal body, with Major Johnston at their head, marching up the road in the mean time, came in afterward. They entered the house, and burst through the rooms ; they broke open the door, and burst into my daughter's room.

Who do you mean by *they* ? Some of the soldiers.

Was there any artillery ? There were two pieces before the house, and two at the barracks, upon the Parade.

Stationed there ? Stationed there ; the two guns upon the Parade were pointed towards Government House : there were two field-pieces likewise before the house : and it appeared that the night before, without my knowledge, the screws were taken away out of the breeches.

Was the direction of the guns altered ; were the guns on this day pointed as they had always been before ? Those before the house were not altered, but those on the Parade were. They always stood with their muzzles in the line of Government House, but not pointed directly towards it ; their position was usually to the right.

By the Court. You don't mean to say the guns were pointed particularly to your house on that day more than on any other ? Yes, I do think they were.

You say not those by your house, but those that were at the barracks? Those that were at the barracks.

What distance are the barracks from Government House? I should suppose about 400 yards, in a straight line. If the Court would allow me, I have a plan of the town, which would serve to explain the transaction. [*The plan was produced.*]

Was any order to release Mr M'Arthur given to you; and by whom was that order? Mr Gore the provost marshal brought it up to me in the room where I was with the magistrates; a written order, signed with the name of Major Johnston, as Lieutenant Governor.

When did he bring it up? That was the 26th.

Was that before or after you saw the soldiers coming up to Government House? It was just about the time they were marching up: we saw that Mr M'Arthur had been liberated a short time before Mr Gore reported. They let him loose out of jail, and he mixed himself with the New South Wales Corps; and the moment they got him amongst them, they marched up along with him.

Is that the order? This is the order, sir. [*Read.*]

This is the order that was given to you? Yes, sir, before Major Johnston came up; that was prior to my being put under arrest.

You have already stated in your evidence, that it was given to you about the same period of time the soldiers were marching up to Government House: do you know whose hand-writing that is? I think it is Major Johnston's.

Do you know it? It is by belief that it is.

Have you sufficient knowledge of his hand-writing to be able to swear that you believe it is his? Yes, sir; I have seen him write his name frequently; and I verily believe, upon my oath, that it is his hand-writing.

Was Colonel Johnston then, in fact, Lieutenant-Governor? No, sir; he was only Major Johnston. The Lieutenant-Governor, as far as I could comprehend, and who had been

reported as such in the Calendars, was Colonel Paterson; the prisoner was only Major Johnston, commanding the troops at head-quarters.

Was Major Johnston the senior officer present at head-quarters? Yes, sir.

Judge Adv. You see they are both in the same regiment, Colonel Paterson and Major Johnston; and the patent which has been read states, that on the death or absence of the Governor, the government shall devolve upon the person who has the highest command.

By the Court. That would be either Colonel Paterson or Major Johnston, the man who would have been Lieutenant Governor, agreeably to your commission, supposing you had died? Colonel Paterson; but Johnston took the government for the time being.

What distance was Colonel Paterson off from Port Jackson? In a good sailing vessel a week or a fortnight would perform it.

The President. There must always have been a Governor.

On the part of the Prosecution.

What did you do on first seeing the soldiers approach Government House? I immediately retired, it was so sudden; and, with the gentlemen who were with me, went up stairs into my own room, and got together some papers which were there, and which I thought it necessary to take care of. While this was doing, the gentlemen all left me, except Mr Palmer, the commissary; and Mr Palmer and myself were standing together at the head of the stairs, when on hearing the troops making a noise round the house, and rushing in, Mr Palmer went down; and as he reached the foot of the stairs, a party of the soldiers rushed past him, and came up to the head of the stairs where he had left me. These men were in an infuriated state, with their muskets, and bayonets fixed; upon which, feeling that they were coming with great fierceness to seize my person, I retired into a room which was

upon my right hand as I stood on the staircase. There were two rooms in the place that I went into, an inner and an outer room, divided from each other by a small partition, with a door between them ; I went into the inner room, which was an end room of the house, where there was a window, at which it was my contemplation how I could possibly get clear of the troops that had surrounded the house, and get to the Hawkesbury.

Is the Hawkesbury distant? It is a district forty miles in the interior, where most of the free persons are settled, with only a small party of soldiers, perhaps fifteen or sixteen, and where I was sure the people would flock to my standard, and give all their aid in defending me. While I was in the room which I have mentioned, the door between the two rooms was shut, and there I arranged the papers which I had got with me, and tore a number of them in order to lessen my bundle, which was too large to be concealed under my waistcoat. I tore a great number of them, and a vast quantity of the pieces were picked up by John Dunn, my servant, and afterwards burnt. During this time the troops were running all over the rooms ; the room I was in was at the back part of the house ; they had rummaged every where except this room ; and while I was in it busied about these papers, the door was opened, and the person who opened the door, who was Lieutenant Moore, of the same corps, said, "Pooh ! pooh ! you need not come in here, the Governor is not here," just in that indifferent kind of way ; "The Governor is not in here, the Governor is not to be found here ;" and retired, and the door was shut again. I then heard them rattling about the staircase and rummaging the other parts of the house in search of me for a long while, and many bad expressions made use of. Afterwards I understood they had been rummaging all the outhouses and searching the grounds, and that they sent their scouts every way, as they apprehended I had escaped into the country and gone to the Hawkesbury. I then heard a halloo-halloo, and a man cry out, (which was

one Serjeant Whittle,) "Damn my eyes, I will find him—soldiers! come up stairs again, I will have another search;" or words to that effect. The fellows came in, Serjeant Whittle commanded the party, which consisted of eight or ten men, or there might be more; they came with their muskets, and bayonets fixed, into the room, and there they found me. There was a hallo-balloo directly, and a cheering by the troops outside, that the Governor was found. I was then a little confused in fixing and arranging my papers withinside my waistcoat; I put my right hand up to prevent them from falling through; a fellow came up to me, and with his bayonet presented, says, "Damn your eyes, if you don't take your hand out of there, I will whip this into you immediately." I immediately called out, "Serjeant, keep the man off, I have no arms—stand off." At this moment, in the middle of a great crowd, came Lieutenant Minchin, creeping through upon his hands and knees, and called out, "Serjeant, keep the men off, the Governor is not armed:" upon which Mr Minchin took hold of me by the arm, and led me down stairs, telling me that Major Johnston wanted me below; and accordingly I was obliged to go below.

Was any letter then given to you; and if so, by whom? Lieutenant Moore was the first person that came up to me with a letter.

When you got down stairs? When I got down stairs, after I had entered the drawing-room, Lieutenant Moore brought me a letter. Communicating with the drawing-room is an outer room, called the dining parlour; on being led into these rooms, I found troops stationed all round the walls, just like a Roberspierrean party, or a revolutionary tribunal; while other troops like sentinels surrounded the house, having a party with them, consisting of a few of the inhabitants.

Is that the letter that was given to you? This is the letter which was delivered to me by Lieutenant Moore.

Do you know by whom it is signed? It is signed by Major Johnston.

Is that his hand-writing? Yes, it is, sir.

To whom is it addressed? To myself, William Bligh, Esq.

Not directed to the Governor? Not at all.

How is it directed? "On his Majesty's service. William Bligh, Esquire, F. R. S. &c."

Now read the letter? [*Read.*]

Did you afterwards see Colonel Johnston himself? Yes, sir; there was a message brought that Major Johnston wanted to speak to me; and just as I received it, as I was moving forward, he met me at the door of the drawing-room.

Who were present when you saw him? Mr Griffin, my secretary, I believe, was present, and Mr Campbell; I don't know whether some of my servants may not have been there also.

What passed when you saw Colonel Johnston? What he said was just to the amount of the letter; that he had put me under arrest by the advice of his officers, and therefore commanded me to remain under the arrest that he had placed me in.

To your own knowledge, was any thing done to your papers, public and private, and by whom? Yes, sir.

Only state what you know yourself. I know that every thing,---my commission, all my papers, a cabinet, and desk, that were in one of the rooms,---were taken possession of by Mr John Blaxland, who is one of those gentlemen that have come home; Mr Grimes, Mr Jamieson, Dr Townson, and Mr Blaxcell, as named in my dispatch, which I will take my solemn oath is every word of it correct. These were taken possession of, all my private drawers ransacked, every thing was taken out of this room, and huddled into another, where they were locked up, the door sealed, and two sentries put over it; that I might have no access to the papers.

Who were then left with you, and in what state were you left? I was left with only two ladies; one of them my daughter, the other was a Mrs Palmer: the servants remained in the house.

Did you make any application relative to your secretary, Mr Griffin? Yes, I did.

What was that application; to whom did you make it, and what was the answer? I said "Major Johnston, I suppose you will not take my secretary away, he may remain with me?" for all the magistrates were seized and carried I knew not where, I knew nothing of where they were carried till afterwards; there was only a Mr Campbell at this time in the house. Major Johnston said, "O yes, certainly, Mr Griffin may remain—but stop," says he, "Mr Bayly," (Mr Bayly was the person who brought every message to me, and was the secretary of Major Johnston ever afterward,)—Major Johnston said, "Stop, Mr Bayly, go and ask the inhabitants outside, whether they approve of Mr Griffin's remaining here." Away he ran: he was absent I suppose about a minute, or not so much; then he comes back to Major Johnston, and says, "It is not approved of." In consequence, the secretary was not suffered to remain with me; and I was left the only person in the house with my daughter and Mrs Palmer, as I before stated.

Where were you left? In my own house.

From this time who acted as Governor? Major Johnston.

Do you, of your own knowledge, know of any acts or proclamations of Colonel Johnston, at or about this time, relating to martial law, or to the superseding of your officers, and the appointment of others? Yes, I heard it mentioned in the house at the time, that Major Johnston—

Do you know what was done with your public and private papers? They were all put into one room on the night of the 26th.

What has become of them since? On the 27th, or the day after, committees were appointed, by a written order from Major Johnston, to come and examine my papers.

How do you know they were written orders? Because the secretary, Mr Bayly, brought the orders he was to act

upon, and the papers themselves are forth-coming to show that Major Johnston directed it.

You saw this written order? Yes, they came to me with it: Bayly walked in at the head of this committee, as the principal mover of the thing, and read the paper That his honour the Lieutenant Governor had ordered them to come and do so and so.

Was any thing done with respect to your establishment at this time, as to allowances? Yes, there was.

What? Major Johnston informed me by letter, that whatever I might want would be furnished me, and charged according to the Government prices, or the prices then existing in the colony, and that an account of such charges should be transmitted home to his Majesty's Secretary of State, to know whether I was to pay them or not.

Have you got that letter? Yes.

By the Court. Your allowance was to cease from that time? I did not consider so.

But you understand so from that order? No.

What was the use of the order? I could not understand what the order meant, further than that I was to have what I wanted, but I was to pay for it.

Why should you not pay for what you had? The rations and whatever things are taken out of the government stores in the settlement are issued under the orders of the Governor, by the commissary, and he takes an account of it; all the Governor's provisions come from the Government stock, and the Governor would have nothing to eat if he had not the command of the Government stock; the Governor has the sole power to use every thing, and if he had not the command of the Government stock he would have nothing to live upon but salt meat.

On the part of the Prosecution.

Where, and in what state, were you kept during the time that Colonel Johnston continued to act as the Governor? I

was confined to Government House, with permission from Major Johnston to go any where in the garden for the air, having sentinels to attend me, whose orders were to keep at about six paces from me; which orders they in general strictly fulfilled,—so much so, that at times, when my daughter has been walking with me arm in arm, we could not speak for the interruption of a sentinel; we could say nothing to each other in close conversation, the sentinels kept so close to us; we were insulted and treated in the most cruel manner.

Who succeeded Colonel Johnston in the government, and when? Major Johnston continued in the government till July, 1808, I believe, when Colonel Foveaux came. I believe it was about the 29th of July that Colonel Foveaux arrived.

By the Court. Is Colonel Foveaux senior officer to Colonel Paterson? No, he is not senior to Colonel Paterson; he came out from England as Lieutenant Governor of Norfolk Island, and brought a letter to me from the Secretary of State, requiring me not to suffer him to remain at Port Jackson, but to send him off to Norfolk Island, there to carry into execution the orders that were contained in my dispatch. He brought me this letter. I informed Colonel Foveaux what my orders were, and he had himself orders from the Secretary of State. Upon his arrival, having a sanguine hope that he would unite with me in getting the colony again into my hands, I sent some of my friends to wait upon him. Mr M'Arthur, however, and his adherents had got to the ship first, and my friends could only succeed in getting a letter on board, but which they did, and he received it. The letter from me was my positive orders, as Commander in Chief, that he should put himself at the head of the New South Wales Corps, and reinstate me in my government.

On the part of the Prosecution.

Where and in what state were you when Colonel Foveaux

succeeded Major Johnston ? I remained in the Government House confined, and suffered many indignities until the first of January, 1809, when Colonel Paterson arrived.

Who succeeded Colonel Foveaux ? Colonel Paterson.

When ? On the first of January, 1809.

That is, he arrived at Sydney on the first of January, 1809. Yes, he arrived then.

How long did you remain under arrest ? From the 26th of January, 1808, until the 20th of February, 1809, at which time I got possession of my ship, in which I was proclaimed, or rather, I was proscribed, as an outlaw, and every person in the colony was ordered, upon pain of punishment, not to supply me or my family with any food or article whatever. I was completely outlawed ; and in this situation I remained till about the middle of January, 1810, when I determined, having waited with great impatience, and no succours coming to me for two years, to proceed to head quarters, there to wait, and to support myself in the best manner I could by seizing provisions out of the shipping, which was the only means I had. I did seize them : but on my arrival at Sydney, I found that Colonel Macquaire of the 73^d regiment had arrived, with orders from his Majesty to reinstate me in my government.

When was this ? The middle of January, 1810 ; Colonel Macquarie arrived in December, 1809, I believe the last day of the year. I had been just two years without hearing a word from England. I went to Sydney, not only to wait there, but intending to defend myself when I was there ; because had there been no change of government, they would have attacked me the moment they arrived.

Where did you remain during the time you were under arrest ? At the Government House.

Then on the 20th of February, 1809, you state that you got possession of a ship ? Yes, sir.

Where did you get possession of that ship ? It was his Majesty's ship the Porpoise, which I commanded.

Where was she lying? She was lying in Sydney Cove.

That is opposite Government House? It is opposite Government House, but I had been carried to close confinement before that by Major Johnston; I was taken up to a subaltern's barrack because I would not consent to give up my ship.

You have stated that you were under confinement in the Government House from the 26th of January, 1808, to the 20th of February, 1809? Yes, sir.

Now you say before the end of that period you were taken up to the barracks? Speaking generally to the question, that was the answer: I was under arrest till the 20th of February, 1809, for the most part in the Government House; but within that period of time a proposal was made to me by Colonel Paterson; that is, Major Johnston came down with orders from Colonel Paterson.

Are you speaking now to what you know? Yes.

How do you know that Major Johnston came down to you with orders from Colonel Paterson? Because he shewed me the orders; he and Captain Abbott came down to Government House from Colonel Paterson, with written orders first of all that I should give up his Majesty's ship the Porpoise, to go according to their own direction to Norfolk Island or some where else. My answer was, I will never comply with any orders from you; and it is at your peril, and at the peril of any one else, to take that ship, with my broad pendant, from me, sir; you shall not have her. Then the prisoner said, I am very sorry, sir, but I have orders, that unless you comply with his Honour's request, you are to proceed with us up to a subaltern's barrack, which is prepared for you at the barracks. I then desired that I might have the order, which was not granted; but my secretary was allowed to take a copy of it, which was compared with the original. Their Majesties' pictures were at the end of the room covered with a piece of gauze: "I said to Colonel Johnston, It is a fortunate thing their Majesties' faces are covered, that they cannot see this

transaction : upon which Major Johnston replied, "Sir, you must go with us."

Then you went with Major Johnston to this subaltern's barrack? Yes.

How long did you remain there? About a week. They took me to this subaltern's barrack, and my daughter ran after me, just seizing hold of my arm as we entered; she fainted away in my arms. I called to Major Johnston to get me some water; but instead of procuring any, thinking this was the time to get the better of me, while my daughter was in this situation, he came up with a fresh message from the Lieutenant Governor, to tell me, "Sir, I am come with an order from the Lieutenant Governor, that you are to prepare yourself to embark on board the *Estramina* (which is a small schooner) as soon as she arrives." I asked Major Johnston where she was going: he said, "I don't know," made a low bow, and retired; and the whole affair was conducted with as much awful ceremony as possible.

What became of you at the expiration of the week? At the expiration of the week I was permitted to return to the Government House, under conditions. Upon my being placed in the barracks, I remained there for a week, during which time there was a good deal said to induce me to give up the command of my ship; and at last it came to a treaty and agreement with Colonel Paterson, that I should go home in the *Gambier*, a merchant-ship; and the farce was carried so far, that I was desired to mark out such accommodations as I wished to have on board the ship. I sent a statement of the accommodations which I thought would be necessary, to Colonel Paterson. He sent me back word that the accommodations I had marked out were too large; and I learned afterward, that Mr M'Arthur and Major Johnston were to go home in this vessel. It was a large ship, and they did ultimately proceed to England in her. When this was determined upon, I desired to have no further communications in writing; but that if any thing was to be done they should

send an officer. Mr Finucane then came, and made proposals for my taking the command of my ship the Porpoise.

Who was Mr Finucane? He was secretary to Colonel Fouveaux at that time.

What were the terms? For me to return to England. I took the Porpoise upon the terms they had proposed to me; and the moment I got the command of the Porpoise I took care to keep it, and would not suffer any of their terms, or any thing which they said, to have the least influence upon my mind; I took the command of the ship, and the command of the colony again, by which means I saved the lives and properties of many of his Majesty's subjects. I considered myself, the moment I got on board my ship, as the legal Governor of the country, and so I considered myself to the last.

Then you went straight from the barracks to the Porpoise? I went from Government House to the Porpoise.

But you stated, that when this proposal was made to you, you were confined in the barracks? Upon my agreeing to the terms which they proposed the carriage was brought, and I was taken back to Government House, whence I was to embark.

How long did you remain in Government House before you embarked? I should think about a fortnight, or a little better; they agreed that I should embark on the 20th; I was more anxious to embark on the 20th than they were, for if I had waited till the 21st, I believe they would not have permitted me to embark at all.

On the 20th of what month did you embark? Of February, 1809.

You have said, in the former part of your examination, that you remained under arrest from the 26th of January, 1809; then, you say, you took possession of the Porpoise? Yes, sir; that is correct.

In which situation you remained till the middle of January, 1810; you remained on board the Porpoise all that time? All that time.

Where were you in the Porpoise ? At the Derwent, waiting for succours. I sailed from Port Jackson to the Derwent on the 17th of March, having taken possession of the ship the 20th of February : the people thought I was going to England,—that was the condition on which the ship had been given up to me; but instead of going to England, I took the command again, and went to the southward.

Did you land at the Derwent ? Yes, sir; and saw Colonel Collins there, who, when I arrived, united himself to me, and I landed.

He acknowledged your authority ? He acknowledged my authority, he was very happy to see me, and we remained there on the best terms a week or a fortnight; when a Gazette containing a proclamation was sent down from Colonel Paterson at head-quarters, proscribing me and my family, and prohibiting all descriptions of persons from having any communication with me. Colonel Paterson wrote at the same time to Colonel Collins in such a way, that nothing I could say to him could prevent his mind being alienated from me. I had been accustomed always to sleep on board my ship, leaving my daughter on shore for the sake of her health at the Government House, with her servants; in short, I did not dare to quit my ship at night, because I had my suspicions; and the first symptom I perceived of Colonel Collins's being inclined to unite with the Lieutenant-Governor was, that proceeding one morning about eight o'clock to my daughter's apartments, I found the sentinel was taken from off the door.

When was this ? About a fortnight after I had been there; between that and three weeks.

The sentinel had been placed over the door as a mark of respect ? Yes, sir; every mark of respect, by salutes and otherwise, was shewn to me up to this moment.

By Colonel Collins ? By Colonel Collins. This circumstance struck me with a good deal of suspicion : I desired my daughter to take hold of my arm; and having walked out

a little way, I told her what I thought. I said to her, "I will direct the boat's crew, as many as we can muster, to get your things out of your room, for this is so suspicious a circumstance that I will take you on board instantly;" and I got her on board immediately. There I remained; Colonel Collins having united with the orders that were sent down from Port Jackson, which I endeavoured publicly to counteract as much as was in my power: nevertheless, Colonel Collins remained united with Colonel Paterson, and were no longer upon any friendly footing.

Then you remained on board your vessel? I remained on board my vessel, getting some trivial supplies from the captains of ships, and some fresh beef I got from a man of the name of George Guest, who did it in opposition to Colonel Collins, setting him at defiance. Of a few poor unfortunate settlers, who endeavoured to get off a few fowls and some mutton to my daughter, some were seized and flogged, and one poor man, whose name was Belbin, received, I believe, four or five hundred lashes, and was imprisoned, for the relief he had given to my daughter.

You remained on board your ship till you returned to Sydney, in the middle of January, 1810? Just so.

There you found Colonel Macquarie arrived, with orders to reinstate you? To reinstate me in my command.

How far is the Derwent from Sydney? It is considered about ten days' or a fortnight's sail.

Is that Colonel Johnston's hand-writing? Yes, sir, it is.

Gov. Bligh. I beg leave to mention to the Court, there was a proclamation issued in the beginning of this business which is of the utmost importance, and which shews the character of the whole of the transaction better than any thing else: it is a turbulent proclamation, ending—"Soldiers, you have done your duty! you have now put the credit of the New South Wales Corps on a footing which is not to be shaken!"—in short, worded in all the revolutionary phraseology of France.

A Member. Have you that proclamation? Yes, sir; it shall be produced to-morrow. *Adjourned.*

The *Second Day* was mostly occupied in explaining the evidence before given. It also appeared, as the Judge Advocate observed, 'that Governor Bligh, upon his return to Sydney, had delivered to him, by Governor Macquarie, a letter from the Secretary of State to him, Captain Bligh, stating, that directions were sent out by Governor Macquarie to reinstate him in the government for twenty-four hours, when he was to be superseded by Colonel Macquarie. Then the fact appeared, that Governor Bligh was not reinstated, and that the reason of that was, that he was absent from Sydney at the time that Colonel Macquarie arrived; therefore Colonel Macquarie had but one alternative to follow, either to leave the colony without a Governor until Captain Bligh should return, or to assume the government himself; and having once assumed it, he could not depose himself in order to reinstate Governor Bligh for twenty-four hours.' The letter was produced, directed to Governor Bligh; and this letter, Governor Bligh stated, was delivered to him, on his arrival at Sydney, by Governor Macquarie.

Third Day. Governor Bligh cross-examined by Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston.

It appears by your evidence, that you acted as Governor of New South Wales about seventeen months: had you ever been before that time in a situation that gave you the command of land forces? No; marines I have, but not the regular troops of the line.

How often has it happened, in the course of your service in the navy, that you have found it necessary to bring officers or others to courts martial for mutiny or other similar offences? I think about twice, I have brought persons to a court martial; twice or thrice, I suppose, in the course of forty years constant and active service.

How many courts martial have you obtained against individuals for other offences? Really, gentlemen, it is hard for me to answer such a question; the world knows perfectly well, that in 1787 there was a mutiny on board the ship *Bounty*: I presume that is what they allude to; I don't know any other mutiny that I have had any thing to do with, except that dreadful mutiny at the *Nore*, in which, of course, I was not particularly concerned.

How often has it happened, in the course of your service in the navy, that you have found it necessary to bring individuals to courts martial for mutiny or similar offences? Oh! for mutiny---in the year 1787, when the ship *Bounty* was taken from my command by the mutiny of the people, and myself with some others turned into an open boat, and set adrift from the ship in the Pacific Ocean, and these circumstances stand recorded in public history, and prove that the way in which I was turned out of that ship was most honourable to me as commander of her, and on the public trial of the mutineers, when the members of the Court were investigating the case, and a witness was giving evidence, they put this question to him: "In what situation was your captain when the mutineer officers were standing with their swords drawn round him?" he replied, "Standing in his shirt with his hands tied behind his back."

[Here the Judge Advocate offered some observations, after which Governor Bligh proceeded.]

If the Court would allow me, I would say this in explanation. In the year 1787, I was sent out in the command of his Majesty's ship *Bounty*, to bring the bread-fruit from Otaheite to the West Indies, and to explore the passage between New Holland and New Guinea. In the course of this voyage it was that a part of my crew mutinied; they seized and tied me in my shirt, with my hands behind my back, and put me at last into the boat, and then set us adrift. We were forty-eight days and nights without any relief, and with scarcely any food to support life: however, I got home at last, having

escaped the greatest dangers of climate and the sea. Immediately upon my coming home, my King called upon me a second time to proceed on the same voyage, which was beside the most dangerous voyage that could then be performed, as no man at that time knew any thing about the geography of that part of the world. I was allowed to fit out two ships in any manner that I liked: I did fit out two ships, and sailed on the voyage. In the mean-time, while I was fitting those ships out, a ship was sent in search of the mutineers; that ship was the Pandora: it was equipped, and it sailed. I went upon the voyage which I had been ordered upon, and returned, after fully accomplishing the objects of my mission; and upon my return, I found the Pandora had gone out but had not returned, for she got aground in the very passage between New Guinea and New Holland which I had been sent out to explore, and was lost, and it was a miracle that the captain and any of the men reached home again. But although the ship got into this dangerous situation, the captain did not forget his duty to secure the mutineers: he had been fortunate enough to lay hold of some of them, and he brought them home. I was absent all that time, on that most dangerous voyage, and these men were brought home; they were tried in my absence; most of them were convicted, some were executed, and some were reprieved.

Then do I understand your answer to be, that the men of the Bounty are the only persons brought to a court martial for mutiny with which you have ever had any concern, you having stated what that transaction was? Those are all I recollect.

Then another question is, How many courts martial have you obtained against individuals for other offences? To the best of my recollection, about three; but if there have been three more, if the prisoner will be so good as to mention them, I will tell him whether he is right or not.

Have you ever been brought to a court martial, and for what? I was brought to a court martial for the loss of the

Bounty: and my lieutenant, who, I understand, is now turned out of the service, brought me to a trial when I commanded his Majesty's ship the *Warrior*, a seventy-four.

And for what? the latter part of the question is.—I cannot say how the charge was worded; but the amount of it, I recollect, was, that I had sent for him to do his duty when he had a lame foot, which he had embarked on board the ship with, but made a pretence of it when I sent for him on duty, and said that it was an act of tyranny on my part to send for him, or the word might be, oppression.

What was the result of that last court martial to which you have spoken? I think, to the best of my recollection, that the affair terminated with the Court, saying, they recommended to Captain Bligh to be more cautious in his expressions; I think that was just to the amount of it, word for word.

When you had prohibited the traffic in spirits, did you enforce the order you had issued with impartiality? In the most impartial manner.

Was not Andrew Thomson your bailiff convicted by the magistrates in the penalty of 100*l.* for selling part of a puncheon of spirits; and did you not remit the penalty? Andrew Thomson was the man who had charge of a little farm of mine; it was through my rigid impartiality that he was detected in the offence of making an improper use of a quantity of spirits which had been intrusted to his care for distribution among the settlers in the interior; and it was by my order to the Judge Advocate that he was brought to trial; and I would have nothing to do with him afterwards; he was in the hands of the magistrates, and I had nothing more to do with him.

The latter part of the question is, And did you not remit the penalty? No; I recollect nothing of the kind, of remitting the penalty; I was so incensed, I thought the penalty too light: he had been guilty of a breach of faith, which I thought deserving of the highest punishment.

Did you immediately dismiss him from your service? I dismissed him from my service so far, that I never allowed him to come near me afterwards : the usurpation came on very soon afterwards, and there were several things he had to account for, but he never came into my confidence again, though he supplicated in the strongest manner ; but there were some circumstances of my affairs which I had to settle with him, and he was obliged to come to me for that purpose, and I saw him upon that occasion.

Was he not always continued as your agent ; and did he not in that quality correspond with you in the most confidential manner? He had the impudence to address me on other subjects beside the little trust which was confided in him, and I reprimanded him for it in the severest manner.

A Member. Was the penalty remitted by the magistrates? Really I cannot positively speak to that.

You have stated, that after he was in the hands of the magistrates you had nothing more to do with him? I do not believe it was remitted at all, I know nothing of its being remitted ; but, sir, the magistrates will be forthcoming as witnesses to speak to the fact.

Lieut. Col. Johnston. Will Captain Bligh add to that, that he did not remit it? I really cannot call the thing to recollection, but the magistrates will be forthcoming ; I do not recollect, upon my oath, that it was remitted : on the contrary, upon my oath I should declare that it was *not* remitted ; that is my idea of it, but the magistrates will be forthcoming to prove the facts.

You have spoken of an individual of the name of M'Arthur ; Was not that Mr M'Arthur one of the principal settlers in the colony? Yes.

Judge Adv. Had he the authority of his Majesty's government for a grant of 5000 acres of land? Yes, I believe so ; he certainly had such a grant ; I was so informed by a member of his Majesty's government, but it was before my government.

Continued. Together with the power of employing a certain number of labourers, for forwarding a project of great public importance, that of raising very fine wool, which should supercede or supply the want of Spanish wool? I heard that government had been informed by Mr M'Arthur that such he could produce, and that every indulgence was granted by government to enable him to do that.

A Member. This grant was before your appointment? Before my appointment, sir; I found him there in that situation; he had sheep, but he had no quantity of wool in his possession when I arrived.

Did you ever forward or endeavour to forward, or did you oppose and thwart, the execution of these declared intentions of his Majesty's government? I did every thing in my power to forward the views of his Majesty's government.

In this respect? In that respect.

Did you not damn the Privy Council and Secretary of State, and say that M'Arthur should not keep the grant of land which he held by order of the Secretary of State? No, I declare to God I never did.

Did you not, in the hearing of Major Abbott use these words, or others to the like effect: 'Damn the Secretary of State; what do I care for him, he commands in England, and I command here?' I know nothing about it.

Did you not say, in the presence of Lieutenant Minchin: 'I don't care a damn for the Secretary of State; he is but a clerk in office, in to-day, and out to-morrow?' I did not.

Will you venture to restate, upon your oath, that you never did utter any of those expressions, or any words to the like effect? To the best of my recollection, I know of nothing of this kind of conversation taking place.

[After some other questions respecting houses being pulled down and lands seized by order of Governor Bligh, the interrogator proceeded.]

Did you not by force, and against the will of Mr Harris, the agent of Captain Kent, seize and take to your own use a

fine English bull, the only one in the colony, and the property of Captain Kent? Never.

Was Mr Atkins your confidential law-adviser? He was my public law-adviser, not a confidential one: he was Judge Advocate to the colony.

The question is, Was he your confidential law-adviser? He was the public law-officer of the colony; I had no private confidence with Mr Atkins, but if any thing was to be done concerning the law he was called.

Had you a high opinion of his ability and integrity? Whatever opinion I had of Mr Atkins, I thought proper to keep to myself, as I do now. I do not conceive it proper, that upon a request coming in this way, I should say whether that man is one thing or another.

A Member. I should certainly think it not necessary.

Gov. Bligh. I only object to it, because any opinion of Mr Atkins might not be favourable.

Have you not expressed yourself of Mr Atkins in these terms: 'He has been accustomed to inebriety; he has been the ridicule of the community; sentence of death has been pronounced in moments of intoxication; his determination is weak; his opinion floating and infirm; his knowledge of the law is insignificant, and subject to private inclination; and confidential causes of the crown, where due secrecy is required, he is not to be trusted with?' That paper, sir, which you have now read, was a secret document transmitted by me to the Secretary of State in sure confidence.

Do you know a person of the name of George Crosley? Yes, sir.

Do you not know that he was a man of most infamous character, and was transported to New South Wales for perjury? I know nothing of his character, but that he was sent out from England to New South Wales, that was any way injurious to him.

By the Court. That is, sent out as a convict? He was

transported, but I know nothing of the circumstances ; it was many years ago, I understand.

Before you arrived ? O yes, sir, a long time before I arrived.

Did you find him as a settler ? As a settler, sir.

Not as a convict ? As a settler, and not as a convict. I believe Mr M'Arthur and every officer in the colony employed him as an attorney, more or less, as they could get hold of him.

Fourth Day. John Palmer sworn, and examined on the part of the Prosecution.

When did you first go out to New South Wales ? With Governor Phillips.

What time was that ? In 1788.

How long have you resided there ? Ever since : I first went out as Purser of the *Sirius*, and was appointed Commissary on the 12th of April, 1790.

Were you there while Gov. Bligh was the governor ? Yes, sir.

And in what situation ? As Commissary.

Had you any particular means of knowing the sentiments of the settlers at different times during your residence there ? Yes, sir.

What were they ; and when did the settlers appear to you in general to be best satisfied with the government of the colony ? In Governor Bligh's time ; more so, I think, than in any other governor's.

What was the conduct of Governor Bligh in general, and particularly with respect to the administration of justice in the settlement ? He always administered justice, according to my ideas, impartially to every body and to all ranks of people.

During the government of Gov. Bligh, and particularly in January, 1808, before the 26th, in what state was the colony ; were any persons discontented ? I never heard of any

I never saw the colony in a more thriving state, or people in general better satisfied.

Had any thing taken place relating to the barter of spirits which had excited discontent? I don't recollect particularly; if there was any discontent, it was occasioned by that.

Was there any danger of revolt or insurrection in January, 1808, if the military had remained obedient to the Governor? No, sir, none whatever.

Were you present at the meeting of the magistrates on the 16th of December concerning Mr M'Arthur. Yes, sir.

Was Col. Johnston there? He was, sir; one of the members.

How did Mr M'Arthur behave on that occasion? He was before the second bench, on the 17th, when he behaved in a very violent manner.

Did the public service suffer in consequence of your being turned out of your office, and the stores or your papers taken from you? Yes, I conceive very much, from the stores being afterwards very improperly applied.

Were you examined upon any business on the 27th? Yes, sir, I was.

Was Major Johnston there? Yes, he was.

Did Major Johnston take any part while he was there? Yes, he administered an oath to me, sir.

Who examined you? Mr Bayly, who was his secretary, Mr Blaxcell, and another gentleman whose name I do not recollect at present.

To what were you examined? They required that I should relate all I knew respecting Governor Bligh's administration; but indeed I was so flurried and confused at the time, that I cannot charge my memory with every thing that passed.

By the Court. What are the number of inhabitants in that part of the colony? I should suppose from three to four thousand, men, women, and children.

Not including the soldiers? I should suppose there might be about two or three thousand inhabitants.

Including the convicts? Including the convicts about three thousand; I know it from the numbers that were victualled there.

What was the number of troops? I suppose, sir, between four and five hundred.

You mean the number of troops between four and five hundred, within the same range within which you have described the number of inhabitants to be between two and three thousand? Yes, there were more than four hundred I am sure.

Had you any knowledge of or connexion with Capt. Bligh previous to his arrival as Governor in the colony? I never saw him before, nor heard of him before.

Mr Palmer *cross-examined* by Lieut. Col. Johnston.

Was not Col. Johnston the oldest military officer in the colony? In that part of the colony, at Sydney.

How long had Col. Johnston been there? He went out at the first formation of the settlement, the same time that I went.

Had any other officer been there so long a time? Not that I know of, sir.

Was not his conduct uniformly quiet and submissive to the authority of the several Governors in your time? Until the 26th of January, sir, I never knew him otherwise.

Was there any reason for considering him a discontented person in January, 1808? No reason that I know of, except, as I said before, on account of the barter of spirits; but that I cannot speak particularly to.

Mr Robert Campbell, a naval officer, and a magistrate for about seven months, deposed, that the colonists were very quiet and contented under the government of William Bligh, Esq. and that the mutiny arose from the dissatisfaction which his regulations concerning spirits created amongst the civil and military officers. On his cross examination he admitted

that the fine of 100*L*. incurred by Andrew Thompson for selling spirits contrary to the general order had never been paid to him as treasurer of the public funds; that Col. Johnson's habits of life were very retired, and that he never heard any officer complain of the Governor's regulations with respect to spirits. He also acknowledged that Mr Crosley was a very dishonest man, and that he was consulted by the Governor in the dispute respecting the criminal court.

Mr Francis Oakes, chief constable of Parramatta and its district, deposed, that the Colony under the Government of Captain Bligh was very flourishing and peaceable, and that after the Governor's arrest he himself was removed from his office, and obliged to remove his family to a friend's house, the people of Parramatta being much enraged against him. On his cross examination it appeared that though his name as Constable had been Gazetted, he was never sworn into the office; and that the barter for spirits and other goods, before Gov. Bligh's time, was the common way of making payments and exchanges throughout the Colony.

Mr William Gore sworn.---*Examined on the part of the Prosecution.*

Were you in New South Wales during Gov. Bligh's government; and in what situation?---I was there, sir, as Provost Marshal: I arrived with Gov. Bligh.

In what state was the colony previous to the 26th of January 1808; and how were the colonists disposed towards the Governor?---The colonists generally from my knowledge of them were extremely well disposed towards Gov. Bligh, and the colony was extremely tranquil.

What was the conduct of the Governor generally during his government, especially relating to the administration of justice; had you any, and if any what particular means of judging of his conduct in that respect?---As the Provost Marshal of the territory, I had at all times a very general access to the Governor; all warrants of execution were directed to me, and

all sentences of magistrates were carried into execution under my immediate orders. I have myself made several applications in favour of individuals under sentence of death, which were at all times attended to.

Were any persons discontented with the measures of the Government; and if so, who were discontented, and upon what account? There were a number of individuals, sir, discontented with the measures of the Governor, which in my opinion originated in consequence of the suppression of certain abuses which existed in the colony at the time of Gov. Bligh's arrival.

State the nature of those abuses.—One abuse (the suppression of which gave extreme discontent) was the barter of spirits; another abuse (which had prevailed very generally) was the circulation of private notes-of-hand in that colony: those notes-of-hand on Gov. Bligh's arrival, and previous to it, were drawn payable in colonial currency; but the Governor issued general orders that such only should pass in future which were drawn payable in sterling money.

Are there any other measures of reform to which you conceive these discontents are attributable? I think, sir, from the time of Gov. Bligh's arrival in New South Wales till the time of the subversion of the government, I acted as Provost Marshal, and for some months before the latter period I was also acting as Superintendent of the Police; and Gov. Bligh had at several times after I became Superintendent of Police desired me to express to the Judge Advocate his wish and his hope, that he would in future discontinue the severe punishments to which the government servants and the convicts indebted to the settlers and others had been subjected for minor offences. When I arrived in New South Wales, and for some time after, it was not an uncommon thing for individuals of that class to be imprisoned without a warrant from any magistrate, and for corporal punishment to be inflicted to obtain confession of supposed crimes. I mentioned to Gov. Bligh, as the custody of the gaol was in my charge, what I

considered the injustice and impropriety of confining these persons at the will of any individual, and liberating them without any investigation into their supposed offences, or the circumstances under which they were confined; and I received the Governor's orders to permit no man to be imprisoned without a warrant from a magistrate, and that no prisoner should be liberated without his discharge being submitted to myself.

Did this produce any dissatisfaction? I think it did, sir.

Was there any danger of tumult or insurrection about the end of January, 1808, if the military had supported the Governor? None, sir, that I could see.

Did you know any thing concerning the removal, or order for the removal, of some houses that stood within the government boundary? I know some houses were removed.

Do you know any thing of the orders for that purpose? There was a general order for the removal of the houses within the government limits; the circumstances I really cannot call to mind.

How many houses were there? I don't think there were six: if there were six, to the best of my knowledge they did not exceed that number.

On his cross-examination he stated, that after Gov. Bligh's arrest, he was imprisoned in the first instance; then he was suspended from his situation; and after that, they brought a charge against him for perjury and false imprisonment, kept him in a dungeon for eleven weeks and four days, and then took him from his wife and infant family, and sent him to the coal-mines for four months.

The Rev. Mr Fulton, acting Principal Chaplain in the colony, deposed to the same effect as the preceding witnesses. He stated that he had been suspended from his office for his attachment to the Governor. Mr Griffin, Gov. Bligh's Secretary, gave similar evidence. He was succeeded by Mr Williamson, a deputy Commissary of Stores and Provisions, who on his cross-examination admitted that he had been

tried, convicted, cashiered, and fined, for applying the public stores to his own use.

John Gray sworn.---Examined on the part of the Prosecution.

What are you, a private soldier? Yes, sir.

In what regiment? The 102d, sir.

Were you so in 1808, in New South Wales? I was, sir.

Did you see any thing done with the guns near the Government House on the 26th of January, before the Governor's arrest? Not at Government House, sir.

Did you with the guns at the barracks? Yes; I went sentry on that day at four o'clock, I think; and when I went on, after some considerable time, I saw Serj. Whalley, which was Gov. Bligh's orderly serjeant, and I saw some officers come on the parade with papers in their hands. Some time after that, I saw Col. Johnston and Mr Minchin come in, in a chaise, into the barracks; and there was an order given out, for what soldiers were seen, to go to their quarters and put on their accoutrements, and come quietly into the barracks through the back way. Some time after this, the regiment fell in, and marched towards Government House; and on or near about the time, I was standing sentry upon the guns; the battalion guns were taken from me, and run down into a magazine built upon the parade, and loaded, and they appeared to be elevated towards Government House.

Who ran them down? The additional gunners.

Were you one of them? No, sir.

By the Court. What was the state of the colony at this time? I cannot pretend to say any thing about the state of the colony; I did not see any thing of any noise or uproar that was likely to be; I thought it was in a peaceable state.

Isaac Champion sworn.---Examined on the part of the Prosecution.

What are you? I am now a private soldier.

In what regiment? The 102d.

Were you so in 1808? No, sir; in 1808 I was an acting serjeant-major, and pay-serjeant to two companies.

After the arrest of Gov. Bligh, did you receive any orders concerning him? I did, sir.

Did you receive no orders respecting him till 1809? Not directly, in written orders; only that we were to keep him a prisoner in Government House; and the guard was regularly mounted over him, and not to admit the sentries to let him go out of their sight; when he walked out of Government House, he was not to leave him at a distance of more than seven or eight paces.

Did you see any effigies after the Governor's arrest? I did, sir.

Of whom? The effigy was a picture of a naval officer; and I know that Serj-major Whittle at that time said, that he had got the old tyrant and old villain's picture drawn in a proper manner, and that he would expose it.

What was done with it? It was placed in his room, with a lamp on each side, for the public inspection of any person who thought proper to go there, let their character be what it would.

Did you see any persons there? Yes; I saw a great number of persons go in and out as they pleased.

Was it carried out of the room at all? I did not see it out of the room.

Did you see it burnt? I saw a something burnt, an image of an effigy, on the evening of the 28th.

Where? On the church hill, sir.

Representing whom? There was no name mentioned; but at the time it was thrown into the fire there were three loud shouts from the people in general; and at that time there was a number of officers and ladies walked by, apparently in parade order, two-and-two; and the whole of that business was under the direction of Serj.-major Whittle.

This, you say, was on the 28th? On the evening of the 28th?

By the Court. Who cheered; you say the people? I believe the soldiers and the convicts mixed together.

You say, a number of officers were there? They were walking past along the road; I particularly observed Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, Mr Minchin, Major Abbott, a gentleman of the name of M'Arthur, and some ladies.

Who was the effigy intended to represent? Why, all supposed Governor Bligh.

That was the general impression? That was the general impression. The military band that was there attended, and the moment after, they played a tune which they called in common 'The Silly Old Man:' they struck it up immediately after the three shouts were over.

A Member. Do you know whether the effigy of Governor Bligh that was kept in the Serjeant-major's room was known to the prisoner? I can answer so far, that I heard the Serjeant-major publicly say on the parade, in his own face, that he would have exposed this effigy on the top of his house, only that Colonel Johnson told him that it would hurt him in England.

What do you mean, that it would hurt the Serjeant-major, or himself, Colonel Johnston? Hurt himself, the Serjeant-major.

By the Court. Are you a friend of Serjeant Whittle's? I don't know that we have ever been particular enemies; I had been a serjeant a number of years until this unfortunate affair happened, I was a serjeant ever since the formation of the regiment. I have no particular enmity against the man, more than against any other person.

Did he succeed you? No, sir; he did not.

Isaac Champion *cross-examined* by Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston.

Did you come home in the ship with Captain Bligh? I did, sir.

Were you a serjeant when you left the settlement? No, sir; I was reduced a few months before by my friend Col- Johnston there. [*Pointing to him.*]

Before Gov. Macquarie's arrival, or afterwards? Before Gov. Macquarie arrived.

Several other soldiers were examined on the same subject.

Mr Martin Mason sworn---*Examined on the part of the Prosecution.*

How long, and during what period, sir, have you resided in New South Wales? From the beginning of the year 1798 until I embarked for England with Gov. Bligh; but during that period I sailed as acting-surgeon of his Majesty's ship Buffalo, to the Cape of Good Hope, and returned with that ship.

In what situation had you been before the month of January, 1808; and what were you at that time? I had been in the Commission of the Peace; I had also been employed as Acting Assistant Surgeon, but was superseded by a gentleman who obtained the appointment of Assistant Surgeon in England.

What were you in January, 1808? I was a settler, and practised as a surgeon upon my own account among the settlers in different parts of the colony.

In what state was the colony at the time Gov. Bligh took upon himself the government? In the most distressed state that a colony could possibly be in: I myself have paid two shillings per pound for Indian-corn bread.

In what state was it during the government of Gov. Bligh, and especially in the month of January, 1808? I believe at that time the prime samples of wheat were from 8s. to 10s. per bushel. The settlers universally, (and I believe no man had a better opportunity of knowing their dispositions than I had, from the nature of my profession,) contented and tranquil. There was the greatest abundance of grain which I had ever known in the colony.

What was the conduct of Gov. Bligh, particularly as to the administration of justice? Gov. Bligh I believe to be a strict disciplinarian, and a man as impartial in the administration of justice as any man that ever lived.

What was the state of the public mind in the colony in consequence of the Governor's arrest; and in what manner did this appear at the time, or soon afterwards? The greatest regret among the cultivators, and every sober and industrious inhabitant, that so unfortunate an event had taken place as the revolution, which it was generally called.

In what state was the settlement during the three or four days following the 26th of January; and what was the conduct of the soldiers of the New South Wales Corps? About the 27th of January, the 28th, the 29th, and 30th, and I believe the 31st, was a general state of intoxication, riot, and confusion, with the detachment of soldiers at the Green Hills, which however consisted only of twelve, beside a serjeant and corporal; the serjeant who commanded was present on the 29th, and directed the erection of a gallows within fifty paces of my own door. A soldier of the name of Butcher brought a cart-load or cart-loads of wood to make a bonfire, and after dark they burnt the Governor and Mr Gore in effigy, suspended from the gallows; at least they suspended tarred hides, and called them effigies of the Governor and Mr Gore. On the 28th of January, one Thomas Hobby, who had been an officer in the New South Wales Corps; Mr Fitz, a deputy commissary; and one Thomas Bigers, who kept a sort of grog-shop, met at the house of one Andrew Thompson, and there drew up an address to Maj. Johnson, sanctioning what had been done. They had assembled a number of their dependents and adherents; and when they were heated with wine and spirits, they sallied out to solicit signatures. I myself was solicited three times in that day, and was told by Bigers and others, that if I did not sign it I should be in the body of Sydney gaol within twenty-four hours.

Do you know of any addresses having been prepared and signed, requesting Colonel Paterson to repair to Sydney and reinstate Gov. Bligh? I remember assisting in drawing one; I subscribed it myself, and saw several others subscribe it, requesting Col. Paterson to repair to Sydney, and again to place the inhabitants under the protection of the king and the law.

Mr Mason *cross-examined* by Lieut.-Col. Johnston.

You say you were once a magistrate: did not Gov. King dismiss you from the situation of a magistrate in consequence of a charge that was brought against you, of extreme inhumanity and indecency towards a female convict, named Elizabeth Hastings? It is a calumny: besides, I was never dismissed from being a magistrate; and here is my appointment to the command at Hunter's River, after I had been withdrawn by Gov. King from Tongabbee, where the subject of this false accusation is pretended to have taken place.

Were you dismissed from the command at Hunter's River?

I was not dismissed: I withdrew from it, assigning my reasons to Gov. King, who told me, that in consequence of the then state of the colony, and the opposition he was meeting with, he was unable to enforce his own measures: from this cause it was I withdrew, and never returned to the detachment at Hunter's River: and here is the document he gave me on that occasion in his own hand-writing to resume my situation as a magistrate at Tongabbee.

Were you not removed by order of Governor King from your command at the Coal River in consequence of your very severe and cruel treatment of the convicts? I have answered that question already; I repeat again, that it is a calumny; if it will not be intruding upon the time of the court, I can relate the situation in which I found that settlement when I went there. It had been under the command of a corporal only, and it would shock humanity to give a precise

detail of the circumstances in which I found it. It was a settlement consisting of the most desperate outcasts in the whole country, who were sent there, 100 miles distance from Port Jackson, as a punishment, and to prevent them from committing those rapes, robberies, and other enormous excesses, that had been greatly prevalent for a long period in the settlement of Sydney: that is well known to every gentleman from the colony who is now in England. In such a place, with such men as these to govern, and without any one person of a different description, but a corporal and six privates of the New South Wales Corps, myself the only person there who had gone out a free settler, it is easy to judge of the situation I was in when the convicts mutinied. When the soldiers had taken a boat-load of provisions and divided it among themselves and the convict women whom they lived with, under pretence of arrears, the convicts then demanded their arrears also; and upon my refusing to accede to their demand, which if I had done I should have been left without a week's provision in store; there was a mutiny among the convicts, and through my own personal exertions I suppressed that mutiny: I held the ringleader in my left hand, while I defended myself with a pistol in the right, till he was secured and punished.

Were you not in Gov. King's time convicted and imprisoned for a misdemeanor? No; an action was brought, if it be necessary to explain that: a civil action was brought against me by the Rev. Mr Marsden, for writing an incautious letter to him, and which was sent under seal; for which, by a court assembled expressly to try that cause, he recovered damages to the amount of 250*l*. On the 1st of May he sent an apology to me, proposing that, if I would sign and allow that apology to be inserted in the Sydney Gazette, he would forgive the damages and pay the costs. I have the apology in Court which I declined to sign, and this is a copy of my letter to him.

Did you acquiesce in it? I did not, because the facts were true, although rather incautiously stated, and in strong terms.

Were you not, after the arrival of Col. Foveaux in 1808, detected in working a private still, convicted, and the conviction advertised in the Sydney Gazette? No; I was neither detected in working a still, nor convicted of it. This is a copy of the warrant which was issued upon that occasion. A still of ten gallons, it is true, was seized and taken out of my house, but there are several circumstances connected with that seizure which it will be necessary for the Court to know. I had kept a still in my house publicly and openly as a professional man; it might contain from ten to twelve gallons, but did not exceed that: a warrant was issued; and during my absence, and when there were none but females there, my house was entered by a party of soldiers at one door, headed by Serj. Lowther, and by a party of convicts at the other, headed by one Fitzgerald, the high constable. They seized my still, which was standing publicly in the kitchen, and carried it away: they ransacked my writing-desk, examined all my books, opened Mrs Mason's trunks and boxes, searched every room, and even searched my bed; went into the shop, and from thence took away about three pints of rectified spirits, and about half a gallon of low spirits, which was there for the purpose of making tinctures and other medical preparations. This took place on the first of October, and it was the 15th of October before I could obtain any hearing whatever; but on that day Mr Bell, Mr Fitz, and Mr Milcham, those three magistrates, declared that I had not the still in my house for any improper purpose, but for use in my profession, and that they should recommend to Lieut. Governor Foveaux to restore me my still: notwithstanding this, to my very great surprise, on the Sunday next I saw the advertisement in the Sydney Gazette, of which this is a copy, published as a general order, dated three days prior to the investigation of the business by those three magistrates at the

Green Hills. On the 22d I applied to the magistrates again, and demanded a copy of their proceedings, which Mr Bell positively refused to give me. This, with the scandalous libel which was published of me in the Sydney Gazette, plainly showed the object was something more than that of seizing my small still, while every medical man in the colony had a still, for the most part of larger dimensions than mine. This is a copy of a letter which I wrote to Col. Foveaux, in consequence of so unhandsome and scurrulous a libel upon me being published in the Sydney Gazette, to which I received no answer: on the contrary, the advertisement was continued three weeks afterwards. As I have no reserve, I will inform the Court that there were fifteen gallons of wash found in my house at the same time, which I expressly avowed before the magistrates was there for the purpose of distilling for the use of my profession; but as to any improper use of it, I also proved before them, that I had actually about this time paid three guineas out of my own pocket to buy wine and spirits for poor invalid people who could not procure it. It would have been very easy to prove the sale of spirits if the fact had been so; and what is remarkable, the convict who was convicted, on the same day that I was heard before the magistrates, of working a forty-gallon still, there was no libel of him put into the Gazette.

A Member. That is certainly an important circumstance, and shows that this man's character is not quite so black as it is wished to make it appear.

By the Prisoner. Had you given any notice to Government of your having or working that still? I had acquainted Mr Arndell, who was the resident magistrate; and I had also informed the Chief Constable that I had such a still; they both knew it as well as I did myself, it was not a matter of secret; and as this matter has been brought before the Court with a view to impeach my veracity or reputation, if the Court will indulge me, I can make a further observation on this subject; but then it is only what the person implicated

told me himself; and that is, that the very man, Patrick Portland, who was convicted of working a forty-gallon still, settled his business by going down to Sydney, and paying into the hands of Mr Blaxcell, Mr M'Arthur's agent, 100*l*. which he owed him for sugar that he had been distilling, and he shewed me the receipt.

Mr Divine, a superintendant of convicts, and director of public works, was next sworn; he stated how the houses before spoke of was pulled down, and admitted that he had signed two papers, which he thought was either to put the Gov. Bligh under arrest, or to continue him in that state, but excused himself by saying he did it for self-preservation!

Charles Walker, who had commanded a brig belonging to Mr M'Arthur, deposed, that he had heard some murmur from Mr M'Arthur and his party. This question was then asked, What was that discontent which you heard? I recollect (he said) Mr M'Arthur making application to Gov. Bligh for something out of the stores: Gov. Bligh thought it necessary, I suppose, to refuse it. Mr M'Arthur said, 'that Gov. Bligh was giving the Government property to the settlers, a set of rascals who would deceive him; it would be better if he gave it to me and some of the other respectable gentlemen of the colony; if he does not, he will perhaps get another voyage in his launch again.' This was previous to my sailing: but after I returned, he said, 'that the colony had suffered Governor Bligh to reign long enough, there would soon be an alteration.' But I always heard the settlers say that Gov. Bligh was the only Governor that ever studied the interest of the colony, as he was the only Governor who ever allowed the colonists any spirits, the officers having always that privilege to themselves; the other Governors only allowed the officers to have spirits.

This witness contradicted himself in speaking of an illumination, which took place on Gov. Bligh's arrest. He next stated his refusal to sign a paper addressed to Col. Johnson, on the subject of the arrest of the Governor, though threaten-

ings were used. It was asked, ' You were told it would be the worse for you, you have said, if you did not sign ; was it the worse for you ? Yes, sir ; Gov. Bligh had given me permission to leave the colony, in an American ship, for China ; but a few days after, I received an order from Col. Johnston, by Mr Bayly, his secretary, not to dare go into the ship ; and the ship was ordered to get under weigh at six hours notice, and leave the harbour ; and they sent an officer on board the ship to smoke her, for fear I should be stowed away, but the captain would not allow them.

Mr Walker cross-examined by Lieut. Col. Johnston.

Was there not an order by Gov. King, forbidding any British subject to sail in an American ship ? I never heard of such an order, sir.

Was not the ship you speak of The Jenny ? Yes, sir.

The evidence for the prosecution closing here, the Court adjourned till Thursday the 23d of May.

DEFENCE.

Thursday, 23d May.

The President. Lieut. Col. Johnston, what is your defence ? [*A written defence was delivered into the Court by Lieut. Col. Johnston ; and the Judge Advocate, at the particular request of Lieut. Col. Johnston, read it.*]

LIEUT. COL. JOHNSTON'S DEFENCE.

Mr President and Gentlemen,

It is now my duty to address to you my defence against the charge which had been promoted by Capt. Bligh ; a task, in the performance of which I must appeal, and I am sure I

shall not appeal in vain, to your patience, your candour, and your humanity. I assure you I am not using a mere phrase of course : when I say that I feel most strongly the difficulty and embarrassment of my situation, I make that declaration most sincerely and unaffectedly ; every circumstance attending the charge and trial contributes to this effect. The distance of time and remoteness of the country at which the transaction in question took place ; the death and absence of many persons whose evidence would have been of the highest importance to me ; the seriousness of the charge, the extent to which it may effect my fortune, my liberty, and my life ; all have their share in producing my uneasiness and embarrassment. To me, although it is not so to Capt. Bligh, the situation of prosecutor or defendant in a Court Martial is new and painful : but above all, I feel this great and insuperable difficulty—I feel that, although I must admit as an undisputed fact that I did remove Capt. Bligh from the Government of New South Wales, and put him under an arrest ; although I am aware that such a proceeding may subject me to the highest censure and punishment ; and although the witnesses who have been called have laboured so strenuously to refer my conduct to the very worst of motives,—yet I feel so thoroughly conscious of the rectitude of my intentions ; so firmly and solemnly convinced that neither malice, faction, ambition, or avarice guided my conduct ; so perfectly sure that an anxious zeal for his Majesty's service, and the desire to prevent a massacre and the plunder and ruin of an infant colony, alone determined my mode of proceeding ;—that I cannot, so far as a guilty intention is necessary to constitute guilt, charge myself with any crime. I know, and I knew in January, 1808, that the step I was taking was one of the greatest boldness and *precision*, to be justified only by the most cogent and imperious necessity : I may have erred, though I do not think I did, in my opinion of that necessity ; but I am perfectly sure, that to no part of my conduct, so far

as my views and intentions decide its character, the charge of mutiny can justly be affixed.

I have mentioned the late period at which this charge is brought, as one of the hardships of my situation ; and on this head I feel myself bound in duty to submit to the Court a few observations on the law which regulates these proceedings against me. In doing this, I beg leave to state most implicitly my entire submission to the judgment of the Court, and my resignation to any decision they may definitively pronounce on this or any other part of my case ; but on the first day of this trial, when the matter to which I am about to advert was mentioned, I understood the mind of the court to be, that the point in question was to be further explained in evidence ; and when I should make my defence, that would be the first time to offer any observations I might deem advisable. Under this impression I humbly solicit the attention of the Court to this part of my case, premising, that I acknowledge the matter of it to be entirely in their decision, and I have no doubt that decision will be founded alike on sound law, on justice, and on mercy. It has already been observed by the Court, that I am here on my trial for a fact which took place three years and four months ago : by the Mutiny Act it is declared, that “ No person shall be liable to be tried and punished for any offence against any of the said acts or articles of war, which shall appear to have been committed more than three years before the issuing of the commission or warrant for such trial, unless the person accused, by reason of his having absented himself, or of some other manifest impediment, shall not have been amenable to justice within that period ; in which case, such person shall be liable to be tried at any time not exceeding two years after the impediment shall have ceased.’ On applying the evidence to this part of the law, I humbly apprehend, that the point for the Court to consider will be, whether all impediment was so far removed before the expiration of three years, that a charge could have been preferred against me within that

time ; for I think it will not be understood as the meaning of the law, that the Court Martial must come to a decision, or even be proceeded on, within that time, but that it must be determined by the Prosecutor within that time that proceedings shall be had ; and that a charge must be framed to which the party accused must know that he will be called upon to answer. The absence of the party accused is, in this case, out of the question ; for I have been in England more than eighteen months : I came hither for the express purpose of meeting a charge which I had been given to understand Capt. Bligh would prefer against me. More than two years ago Capt. Bligh had the offer of free leave to take with him whatever witnesses he might think proper ; and he had, under a solemn pledge given by him as an officer and a gentleman, undertaken to proceed forthwith to England. I lost no time in coming here, and was surprised that he was not also on the spot nearly two years ago. But Capt. Bligh, it seems, had found some reason which never occurred to me, enabling him to dispense with his solemn pledge, and therefore remained in the colony, or in the adjacent seas, more than a twelve-month after he had given it. I shall not enter into an examination whether Capt. Bligh's conduct in this particular was justifiable or not ; but I must submit that, from the moment he was put on board the Porpoise, in February 1809, all impediments with respect to him had ceased. He was avowedly in pursuit of prosecution against me ; he has his choice of witnesses, by whom any charge might be supported ; he was, according to his own evidence, victualled for a voyage to England :—it was then his bounden duty, as far as regards this proceeding, to have come immediately to England and preferred his charge, even if he had afterward found it necessary to delay the trial that he might have time to collect his witnesses. But if I read the clause in the statute rightly, it does not afford further time than three years for the commencement of a prosecution, if the manifest impediment shall have been removed, and the party accused shall have been amen-

able to justice within that period. Now I have certainly been amenable to justice by being in England for so long a time; and for the last three months of the time, namely, from October 1810 till the 26th of January, 1811, Capt. Bligh, who was also in England with all his other witnesses, might have framed and delivered his charge against me. He wrote home to Government his statement of the transactions in question three years ago, at the same time that I sent my dispatch to the Secretary of State. At that time, had he thought fit to require it, a charge might have been framed against me, and I might have been ordered home to answer it. Two years and three months ago Capt. Bligh might, without an impediment, have returned to England; but he chose to linger a year in Van Dieman's Land, or somewhere there about. When I had long left Sydney, he returned to collect evidence, and arrived with his witnesses in October 1810. In the three months which followed, he could have presented his charge; and I think that by the statute he was bound to do so, unless he can show that some manifest impediment existed up to and in January last, which has since been removed. I had, in fact, concluded, that no prosecution against me was intended; and the more so, as I was in November last, after the arrival of Capt. Bligh, ordered by the Commander in Chief to take the command of the 102d regiment, and remained in that command until I was put under arrest in order to answer this charge. I need not point out to the discernment of this honourable Court the dreadful evils to which officers would be subjected by these delays in proceeding, if they were so sanctioned as to be drawn into a precedent. In my own case, many of the inevitable evils have been experienced: persons, whose testimony would have been of the highest importance to me this day, are dead; some, who have been in England within the time, and who would have staid, had I known that any proceeding against me was intended, are returned to New South Wales; and their testimony could not be obtained

without a greater delay than I can solicit ; a delay, indeed, which would be ruinous to me in every sense of the word.

I have dwelt so long, I trust not improperly, on this point, through the earnest desire which every man under an accusation so grave and important must feel to secure to himself all the benefits which the law affecting his state in society will allow. I have not been influenced in the slightest degree by a wish to avoid a trial before a Court of honour, a Court constituted and composed as this is. The habits and predilections of my life, from its earliest period, have been altogether military. At the early age of twelve years I received a commission, and commenced my services in America. Subsequently, I have served in India, and on the Coast of Africa, under military and under naval commanders. In 1786 I volunteered to New South Wales, and was the first officer who landed there ; and I have served there ever since that time, with only two short intervals of absence, when I returned to England. In all that long period—in all the situations which I have served—under all the Governors to whose care the colony of New South Wales has been intrusted, not a complaint against me, in my military character, has ever been preferred ; nor have I ever thought it necessary to bring any officer or private to a court martial for any offence personally affecting myself.

Capt. Bligh too is an officer of long standing, and has served his Majesty in various parts of the world ; but such have been the misfortunes attending his service, that a series of prosecutions by and against him, and all referring to his personal conduct, has always marked his career. Mutiny and insubordination are the charges he has repeatedly preferred ; tyranny and oppression are the offences for which he has been tried, and for which, on full proof, he has been reprimanded and censured.

It is with great reluctance that I make this reflection ; for it is painful for me to speak in terms of censure of any officer bearing his majesty's commission, and still more so to

speak of myself in terms which may be considered somewhat vain-glorious ; but I am obliged to do it, for the purpose of presenting to the Court a correct view of my relative situation. I never was the subject or promoter of an accusation of this kind, until, unfortunately, I was placed under the government of Capt. Bligh, under whose command so many have been obliged to appear as culprits or as prosecutors. In all the vicissitudes of government in the colony in question ; in all the alternate scenes of plenty and distress, of discipline and insubordination ; in the days of quiet and ease, and in those of rebellion and danger,—I have always been active in my duty, and unreprieved in the discharge of it ; and so probably should have continued to the end of my days, had not compassion for the colonists, goaded into phrensy by the injustice, tyranny, and oppression of Capt. Bligh, and a desire to prevent those excesses to which such a disposition of mind in such persons must have given birth, obliged me to adopt the measures which have laid the foundation for the present prosecution. In adopting these measures I considered myself, and know I was considered by the great majority of the people in New South Wales, as the saviour of the colony.

I am aware that this declaration will excite some surprise when it is contrasted with the testimony of Capt. Bligh and his witnesses with respect to his great popularity, and the surprise, astonishment, and indignation, with which the event of the 26th of January was received by all the classes of the people. My defence rests on the denial and contradiction, by argument and by evidence, of these assertions of Capt. Bligh and his witnesses ; in the proof that in his short administration of sixteen months, the violation of public justice and private property, a tyranny which exhibited an extravagant mixture of system and caprice, and perpetual violence, displaying itself both in real injury and gross verbal abuse, and crowned at last by an avowed intention to imprison and prosecute for high treason, or treasonable practices, several per-

sons who had merely uttered words unpleasing to him ; wrought up the public mind to such a pitch of frantic indignation, that every calamity must have ensued, had I not been induced to interfere in the way I did.

The summary of Capt. Bligh's statement, as disclosed by himself and his witnesses, is this :—That on his arrival to take the Government, he found the colony in much distress, owing partly to the visitations of Providence, and partly to political causes. That he commenced and pursued a system of impartial justice, combined with vigilance, encouragement, humanity, economy, and reform, which re-established prosperity, and rendered him universally popular. That some of his reforms (particularly that which related to the prevention of the barter of spirits) gave umbrage to a few individuals, among whom were the officers of the New South Wales Corps and Mr M'Arthur. To these causes of discontent Mr Gore, the Provost Marshal, has added two others, which seem to be, even if founded on truth, extremely fanciful and inadequate ; namely, a regulation with respect to the issue of cash notes, and an act of such mere ordinary justice and humanity as the abolition of imprisonment without a legal warrant, and the prevention of torture for the purpose of obtaining confession. That the discontent of a few individuals arising from such causes should be sufficiently operative to occasion the overthrow of a popular Government, must on the face of it appear extremely doubtful ; and I think the Court, on a fair review of all the circumstances, would not be disposed to believe that I would begin, excite, or join in, a mutiny originating among such persons, and proceeding from such causes. If the habits of my whole life presented no reason for believing the contrary, the total absence of any motive arising out of these circumstances and affecting me would be sufficient to prove that I could not participate in the sentiments of such parties. Of all the witnesses who have named persons who trafficked in spirits, not one has mentioned me : in fact, it never was particularly interesting to me. While it was

permitted, I used it as all other persons did, the Governors and Lieutenant Governors not excepted. When it was prohibited, I acquiesced in the prohibition without a struggle and without a complaint. I knew, and acknowledge, that it was in the Governor's province to annul this traffic. Governor Macquarie has re-established it; but that cause alone would not make the one Governor hated or the other beloved. As to notes payable in one mode or another, I never issued nor had occasion to traffic in them: the notes of the military were always held equivalent to coined money, because the recovery of them did not depend on the solvency of individuals, they being payable at the public Treasury. With respect to the imprisonment and torture mentioned by Mr Gore, I am totally ignorant that such a fact ever existed; but if it did, I am sure every measure tending to reform it would have met my most cordial and firm support; and I firmly believe that if Capt. Bligh had had the merit of such an act to plead, not all the efforts of the most malignant faction which the colony could produce, aided by all the other instances of his mal-administration, could have so obliterated the sentiments of gratitude and affection from the bosoms of the people; but that they would have torn in pieces any man who should have proposed to injure so great a public benefactor.

To prove his popularity, Capt. Bligh has given his own evidence, and supported by that of many other persons who had greater or less means of knowledge. In aid of this testimony, Capt. Bligh has produced an address signed by eight hundred and thirty-three inhabitants of the Hawkesbury district in January, 1808. In answer to this evidence, so far as it goes, I shall show not only Captain Bligh's real unpopularity, and the real causes of it, but I shall prove that some time before the 1st of January, 1808, Mr Williamson, one of his most intimate friends, and Mr Palmer, now one of his principal witnesses, were distinctly and repeatedly apprised of the profound impression made on the public mind by the Governor's misconduct, and the great probability that, by

pursuing such a course, he would occasion some tremendous explosion of popular indignation. I will also prove that a similar communication was made to the Governor himself; and that, far from even promising to redress or enquire into the grievances complained of, he burst out into the most lofty expressions of indignation and contempt, declaring the information to be unfounded, and that it would be easier to move mountains than to make him alter his conduct.

These communications not only throw suspicion on the evidence which has been given of Gov. Bligh's belief in his own popularity, but they account for the zeal and industry with which the address from the Hawkesbury district was urged, and the critical time at which it was procured. Commercial and other causes gave Mr Campbell and Palmer an unlimited influence in that part of the colony, and their emissaries exerted great activity on this occasion; but, in fact, great exertion was hardly necessary, for I shall call witnesses well acquainted with this part of the colony, who will declare that for the most insignificant reward, so small a matter as a glass of spirits per man, an address of any import might be procured, and almost all the signatures which the place affords would be affixed to it.

Soon after the 26th of January, I, too, had an address from the same quarter;---it is in these terms: "Impressed with the highest sense of the obligations due to you for having come forward at the present momentous crisis, to extricate the loyal inhabitants of the colony from that dread and horror which the recent arbitrary measures had caused,---measures which, if pursued as they hitherto have been, must ultimately have proved destructive to this infant colony, as well as injurious to the finances of the mother country, and which tended to destroy those rights so dear to every Englishman,---we presume to address you, and in the most unfeigned manner earnestly hope you will accept our grateful acknowledgment, unadorned by any fulsome language. The oppressions which we have lately undergone had nearly blunted those feelings

which as men we ought to have cherished: but anxious for the welfare of our families, and to avert those calamities which would, we fear, have inevitably attended those persons who might have refused to sign the recent address, many of us therein reluctantly praised those proceedings which in our hearts we could but condemn. Now that we can freely express the sentiments of our minds, we gladly beg to assure you that we are ready to support you with our lives and properties, conscious that every act of your administration will meet with his Majesty's highest approbation. We cannot in language sufficiently praise the meritorious services of the New South Wales Corps on this memorable occasion.' It was signed by some hundreds of people; but the names being much blotted, and the paper defaced, the first sheet only, signed by four of Capt. Bligh's principal addressers, was left in my hands; the other names were taken away because the paper was so much blotted as to render many of them illegible, and it was deemed advisable to get new signatures. That may have been done or may not, for I interested myself so little about such addresses that I never took the trouble to inquire.

Another address has been relied on by the prosecutor as demonstrative of the public opinion respecting his conduct. It is that which was signed by a certain number of inhabitants of New South Wales after the arrival of Gov. Macquarie: but perhaps if the whole of that transaction is rightly viewed, Capt. Bligh has little reason to be proud of it. This attempt to procure a public declaration was made when I and all my principal friends had left the colony; when Gov. Macquarie, in pursuance of his instructions, had pronounced the highest censure on the proceedings of the 26th of January, and annulled all the public acts which ensued. The meeting was announced by the authority of the Provost Marshal, and with the known sanction of Government, and the intent of it was defined in the advertisement. The meeting was numerous attended: and yet the friends of Capt. Bligh, (although the

Provost Marshal, their warm partizan, was in the chair) did not chuse to put their resolutions in a regular way, but attempted to carry their address privately and by subscription. Foiled in this attempt, and although they were a pretended majority, these persons withdrew from the meeting, not venturing to oppose the very moderate and proper counter-resolutions which were moved, and which Mr Gore refused to put from the chair, until Gov. Macquarie positively commanded him to conduct himself with impartiality. Fortunately, death nor absence does not intervene to prevent me from giving evidence of what passed at this meeting, although I am deprived of the benefit of one witness, who could have stated in what terms of reproach Capt. Bligh greeted his friend Mr Gore when he was informed of the result of this meeting, and of the pretexts by which many persons not present at the meeting were influenced to sign the address.

But by whatever arts these addresses may have been procured, or however gratifying they may have been to the individual for whom they were obtained, I trust I shall be able most satisfactorily to shew, that, during his government of sixteen months, Capt. Bligh had managed to render him universally odious. This public detestation did not arise from speculative regulations or small matters of offence, but from a frequent, I may say constant irregular interference in the administration of justice; not only in public matters, but in causes between individuals. It was increased by frequent invasions of private property, not, as Capt. Bligh and his witnesses have pretended, merely for the public good and with beneficial compensation to the parties affected, but for mere malice and love of oppression; and in one instance at the least, (which he has most positively denied on his oath,) for his own private accommodation. I shall also show that the minds of the common people, particularly the soldiery, were irritated by a constant repetition of abuse, daily and hourly uttered in the lowest and coarsest terms, accompanied by the threats of the privation and destruction of their property, and

declarations that appeals to law or justice from the mandates of his will should be useless and unavailing. Above all, I trust I shall be able to prove, that, when in addition to these facts it was publicly announced by the advice of Mr George Crosley, whose known character in England made him at once the terror and hatred of the colonists, such alarming measures were resolved on as those which were announced on the 26th of January, no power existing in the colony, no address or influence possessed by any individual there, no efforts that could have been made, nor no means, except those which I adopted, could have prevented the massacre of the Governor, his adherents, and advisers: and when once the restraint of the law was removed from such persons as those who compose that colony, who is there but must tremble at the contemplation of the consequences! For let me here observe, that the soldiers are not at Sydney kept in a state of separation from the people; but mix, marry, and live among them, and are in all respects identified with them: they hear their opinions, share in their feelings, discuss their grievances, and would with infinite difficulty, if at all, in a matter of great public concern, be brought to act against them. Let me also observe, that the lower class in New South Wales looked up to the few independent and respectable inhabitants, as their only protectors against the violence with which they were beset. Thus, when Gov. Bligh threatened to pull down their houses, they were in the habit of requesting some person of respectability and character to accept a friendly assignment of their leases, flattering themselves that the superior station of these persons would be respected, and their property thus secured. But when it became known that of this class of society seven individuals were at once to be imprisoned and sentenced to death or banishment, every hope seemed at once to vanish, and despair with all its attendant feelings seemed to take possession of every mind.

I come now to the transactions which immediately led to those of the 26th of January: but I beg the Court to call to

mind, that, in all the scenes and all the events I have already described or alluded to, I was a mere spectator, never in any manner mixing in what was done. I lived in a state of absolute privacy and retirement, four miles from the seat of Government, as one of the witnesses for the Prosecution has expressed it. I merely went to town to attend my duty as a magistrate and officer; and when that was performed, returned to my own residence. With Mr M'Arthur I had no connexion, nor was our acquaintance at all intimate. I had heard of wrongs sustained by him from the Governor, but I did not interfere in the discussions which arose between them. I knew Mr M'Arthur to be an opulent and respectable settler, and a man of unblemished character both in public and private; but when on his appearance before the bench of magistrates, on the 16th of December, 1807, he used expressions which could justly be considered as too warm, I did (as Mr Campbell has stated) observe on the injury he did himself by so much impetuosity; and, far from attempting to screen him from justice if he was amenable to it, I concurred with the other magistrates in ordering him to be tried before the Criminal Court.

On the 24th of January, 1808, I was at Sydney, and dined with the officers of the 102d. In Gov. King's time there had been a regular mess-dinner, and it was now the wish of the officers to re-establish so laudable and convivial an arrangement; and this was the first meeting we had for the purpose of considering what followed. I do not wonder that Capt. Bligh should imagine this dinner had some connexion with the events of the ensuing days; but I most solemnly declare, and I will bring the officers who were present to prove, that nothing of the kind was agitated or even hinted at, nor do I believe it was in the contemplation of any one of us. 'No parish business!' was the good-humoured expression of restriction by which we bound ourselves not to advert to any of the affairs of the colony. It is not true, (as estimated) that Mr M'Arthur was there; he was not in the room a single

moment; he was not even named: but every thing at the meeting displayed and denoted only that honest conviviality and cordial friendship which distinguish such parties among officers.

In returning home from this meeting I had the misfortune to overturn my gig in a bad road, and received those hurts which have been particularly alluded to by some of the witnesses, but which were of much greater seriousness than they have given the Court to understand. They were quite sufficient to confine me to my bed, and make removal dangerous, as I should now be able to prove, but for the long postponement of my trial; in which interval, death has removed from me my valuable friend Doctor Jamieson, whose evidence would have been highly important to me in a great many particulars.

On the 25th, while I was thus confined, Mr M'Arthur's trial came on before the Criminal Court. Of the transactions of that day I know nothing but from report: I have seen the paper which Mr M'Arthur put in, objecting to his being tried before Mr Atkins. I take no share in that paper nor in its effects. The Court will hear it read, and I am persuaded they will be of opinion that the reasonings it contains were plausible and ingenious, to a sufficient degree to induce a Court composed only of officers, and not assisted by a single lawyer, to acquiesce in their propriety. Against these reasonings, indeed, no sort of argument was resorted to; but command and threat succeeded each other; while measures of the greatest violence both to the defendant and the officers were known to be preparing under the direction and advice of Mr George Crosley.

As I have now more particular occasion to mention this person, let me beg leave to make a few observations on his character, situation, and conduct; and on the causes which, in my humble opinion, rendered it disgraceful, if not criminal, for a person exercising his Majesty's Government to be led at all by his advice, or to consult him officially on any

business whatever. Mr Crosley never was an eminent attorney, unless notoriety and infamy can pass for eminence. For nearly thirty years before he was sentenced to transportation he had been the opprobrium of the law, and the plague of the Courts. He was at the head of a gang who infested the gaol doors of the metropolis, and who, having first excited the unhappy criminals to acts of guilt, made them subservient to all his villainous purposes, preyed on them to the last; and then, often by treachery, delivered them over to the arm of justice. There was no crime in which he had not been implicated: perjury and subordination, conspiracy and forgery, were among those for which he had been tried: but until the last crime for which he was put to the bar, he had always been able to extricate himself, by inducing his underlings to commit those perjuries on his behalf which arrested the arm of justice. When at last he was convicted, Lord Kenyon, with expressions of undisguised satisfaction, seized the opportunity of freeing British society from so very worthless a member. He might have pronounced a milder sentence, and would have done so, had the culprit been a man who had late in life made a single aberration from the path of honour; but in punishing him to the extent he did, that virtuous Chief Justice felt and owned that he was inflicting, for one crime, a sentence far too mild to be imposed on one whose life had been a series of profligacy, offensive alike to morality, religion, and the law. Far from being eminent in his profession, this man's knowledge was limited to the arts of fraud and chicane: no man in the profession, who had the least regard for his reputation, could hold friendly intercourse with him; and many attorneys, conscious of the infamy of his character, would not even engage in causes against him. In New South Wales, more than in any other place, except London, this man's infamy was known. Many of the unfortunate convicts owed their original corruption and final expulsion from their native society entirely to him. The settlement rang with his infamy. Gov. King did not pardon

him for his good behaviour ; but finding him addicted to all the arts of low fraud and chicanery, and exercising them to the injury of the unwary, he made him a settler, that he might be subject to the law for debts contracted, which, as a convict, he was not. No man of ordinary credit in the colony, unless it were Mr Palmer, ever resorted to him for legal advice ; and his being consulted both publicly and confidentially by the Governor created universal alarm and astonishment. I am far from asserting that the Governor had not a perfect right to consult whomsoever he might think proper ; but I am sure it would have been more satisfactory, more wise and more honourable, to have followed the genuine dictates of an honest understanding, than to have contaminated the fountain of authority with the impurities of so base an adviser. Other Governors, before Capt. Bligh, carried on the government without such an assistant. They may have made their mistakes, and had their faults ; but they did not expose the colony to the danger of insurrection, nor stigmatize their own administration.

To return to my narrative :—On the 25th I received the first letter from Gov. Bligh ; to which, being unable to write myself, and having no person near me to perform that office, I returned a verbal answer by the Orderly, as mentioned in Capt. Bligh's evidence. On the 26th I received a letter from the Governor, announcing his resolution to arrest six officers of the 102d, for treasonable practices, and requiring me, as I was unable to attend myself, to appoint Major Abbott to the command of the regiment. Had these measures been adopted, there would have been but two officers to do the duty of the regiment, and the highest and most important duties must have been left to the Serjeants. I was ill ; Maj. Abbott was at Paramatta, sixteen miles off ; and it could not be expected, but that the arrest of six officers, and the dread of what measures would ensue, would occasion considerable uneasiness.

My medical friend had directed me on no account to leave my room : but sensible of the danger of this crisis, and anx-

ious to avert impending evil, I neglected that advice, got myself dressed, and was driven to town by the aid of my family. On my arrival, as I passed through the streets, every thing denoted terror and consternation: I saw in every direction groups of people with soldiers amongst them; apparently in deep and earnest conversation. I repaired immediately to the barrack; and, in order to separate the military from the people, made the drum beat to orders. The soldiers immediately repaired to the barrack-yard, where they were drawn up, and where they remained.

In the mean time an immense number of the people, comprising all the respectable inhabitants, except those who were immediately connected with Capt. Bligh, rushed into the barrack and surrounded me, repeating with importunate clamour a solicitation that I would immediately place the Governor under arrest. They solemnly assured me, if I did not, an insurrection and massacre would certainly take place; and added, that the blood of the colonists would be upon my head. [Here the prisoner mentioned the requisition which had been presented to him, after which he proceeded.]

We marched to the Government House, attended by a vast concourse of people, who were all inflamed with indignation against the Governor. On our arrival I learnt that the officers I had sent had not been able to obtain an interview, but that the Governor had concealed himself. This intelligence was truly alarming, for I had every thing to fear from the agitation it was likely to produce. I immediately drew up the soldiers in a line before the Government House, and between it and the people, who were thus made to keep a respectful distance: the troops were halted, and made to stand at ease. I then directed a small number to proceed in search of the Governor, while I waited below to protect the family from injury or insult. The search occupied, according to Gov. Bligh's account, two hours. At length he was found, and brought to the room where I was. When he was introduced, I gently informed him of the step which, by the re-

quisition of the people, I had been obliged to take. He answered, He was very sorry he had incurred public displeasure; had he been aware that such would be the effect of his conduct, he would have acted otherwise; and he resigned all authority into my hands, publicly thanking me for the handsome manner in which I had carried the wishes of the people into execution. I then gave the orders I deemed necessary for the security and the protection of his person, and the safety and ease of his family, and withdrew. During all this time the troops, far from being infuriate or uncontrollable, maintained the most steady order and the most perfect silence; not a man stirred from his rank, except those who were ordered, nor was a word spoken along the whole line.

I know that a great part of this statement differs very materially from that of Capt. Bligh and his witnesses; but I trust I shall be able to support it in every particular by full and satisfactory evidence. Capt. Bligh admits that I behaved to him with perfect gentleness and propriety; but he talks of the invasion of the Government House as a scene of utter riot and confusion; his seizure he calls a Robespierrean scene: he speaks of shouting by the soldiery; and has been led to believe that the position of the guns at the parade was altered so as to menace the Government House. For all this fabrication and exaggeration I am utterly at a loss to account. I am not willing to assert that Capt. Bligh has wilfully feigned all these circumstances; but if I exclude that supposition, I must believe that the terror he underwent during his two hours concealment must have perverted his powers of perception. I cannot of my own knowledge speak of the situation in which he was found, nor will I repeat what has been told me by others; their account will be given on oath; they will state the condition in which they found his Majesty's full uniform on the back of Capt. Bligh,—a condition which would make the real heroes of the British navy blush with shame and boil with indignation.

Such are the events which took place on the 26th of January, 1808, and for which I am now called upon to answer. I have accounted for the causes of my conduct according to the exact truth; and upon the opinion the Court shall form of those causes, and not of the mere act, separated entirely from them, I trust their opinion on this case will depend.

It may be said, that I might have put myself at the head of the military, and with their aid dispersed the people, and thus supported the Governor. I know I could have done so, and that for the moment it would have been attended with effect; but of this I am perfectly sure, that, identified as the military were with the people, and inflamed by the feelings of wrongs and insults affecting them all, they would before the night was past have joined with them, or at least refused to act against them; while vengeance would have been urged to its greatest degree of acrimony, and produced on one side or the other the most deplorable excesses. If the people, joined by the military, had broken out, terror and devastation would have marked their course, and his Majesty's fine flourishing infant colony would have been reduced to a state of distress and dissolution.

After explaining some subsequent transactions, the prisoner concluded by thanking the Court for their patience in attending to his address. 'I need not,' he added, 'implore them to give to my evidence the same patient attention, for that I am sure they will not fail to do. The only request I have to make is, that they will not, in considering my case, forget the peculiar position in which I was placed;—far from advice, assistance, or control; amidst a population used to illegal acts, and of unrestrained habits; a population driven to phrensy by oppression, against which there was no appeal; and on the point of taking it into their own hands vengeance of which it was impossible to foresee, and equally impossible not to dread, the consequence. I pray them to consider the difficulty of electing a proper course under such circumstances: and if they feel the least doubt in determining on

my motives, I hope and trust that my long and unblemished service of thirty-five years, and my anxious care during a great portion of the time for this very colony, will not be without their weight in the scale of consideration.

Mr Richard Atkins, Judge Advocate of the Colony, was first sworn by Lieut.-Col. Johnston.

Did your situation in the colony of New South Wales give you great opportunities of knowing Governor Bligh's conduct and its motives? No doubt, sir.

Has the Governor at different times endeavoured to influence your opinion in causes before you, previously to the Court's giving their decision? No, sir.

Have you frequently been obliged, from your dread of the Governor, to submit to or sanction measures repulsive to your feelings and judgment? I have, sir, sometimes thought it better, from certain reasons, to sanction measures that were contrary to my feelings and judgment.

Did those measures relate to trials between the Crown and the subject, and to others, between party and party? I am rather inclined to think, sir, it was with respect to colonial regulations.

Did you ever remonstrate with Gov. Bligh on any particular occasion? I did.

State upon what. There was a Mr D'Arcy Wentworth, assistant surgeon, who was tried by a general Court Martial on a charge exhibited against him. He was sentenced to be reprimanded by the Governor: he was not reprimanded by the Governor; but he was reprimanded by the commanding officer of the regiment, who was at that time Lieut. Col. Johnston, the prisoner. Some time afterward, when I saw Gov. Bligh, he said that it was his intention to suspend Mr D'Arcy Wentworth from the functions of his office, from being assistant surgeon. I stated to him that I conceived it was improper, because he had already undergone the sentence of the Court, and that I did conceive it was contrary to law,

that a man should be punished a second time. The answer that he made me was this: "The law, sir! damn the law: my will is the law, and woe unto the man that dares to disobey it!" Mr Westworth was suspended.

Was Mr Gore, the Provost Marshal, admitted much about the presence and into the counsels of Gov. Bligh? Admitted much about his presence! no doubt of it, sir; he was constantly there, and, as myself, having a great deal of business to do with the Governor: with respect to his counsel, any thing that might pass in private it is impossible for me to speak to.

Was Mr Gore tried for swindling and felony? He was tried, sir, once for felony and once on a charge of fraud.

Did not the Court that tried Mr Gore object to Mr Crosley's pleading before them; and was there a written order produced from the Governor to compel his being admitted to plead? The Court did object to his pleading; but I never saw any written order from the Governor to admit him to plead.

A Member. Was Crosley for or against Mr Gore? For him, sir.

Who prepared the indictment against Mr Gore, and what was the event of his trial? The first trial, sir, was for felony, and I prepared the indictment.

What was the result of it? The result of it was, sir, that he was acquitted.

Who prepared the indictment for the second? The second was by information, and George Crosley prepared it.

What was the second for? It was for a fraud.

What was the result of that? The charge, sir, was for a fraud, in wrongfully obtaining the sum of 15s. upon a note that was drawn by one James Underwood; but it was made payable neither to order nor to bearer; and the Court were of opinion, that as the note was not negociable, the obtaining payment of it in the manner that was charged against Mr Gore could not be considered in law as a fraud.

Then he was acquitted? Upon that ground he was acquitted, the Court did not proceed. The fact was, he had once received the value, 15s. and wanted to receive it a second time.

By the Prisoner. Did Gov. Bligh ever shew a disposition to screen Mr Gore from justice, by interfering in any business pending before the magistrates? I will mention a circumstance, and the Court will consider whether it was an interference or not. Mr Gore was charged with a crime, and a Bench of Magistrates sat to inquire into it. They had made progress, sir, in their examination, and the further proceedings were deferred until the next day: before we met on the next day, I received a letter from the Governor's secretary, Mr Griffin, the Governor being then up the country at Hawkesbury, about forty miles distance, stating that it was his direction.

Whose direction; Mr Griffin's, or the Governor's? Saying particularly, it was his Excellency the Governor's direction, that the Bench of Magistrates do not meet till his return to Sydney, to the capital.

State to the Court the treatment that Mr Newsham, one of the principal witnesses against Mr Gore, experienced by the order or privity of the Governor for some days previous to the trial? I always understood, sir, that Mr Newsham was exceedingly ill treated, and cruelly ill treated; but as it did not come through me as Judge Advocate, I cannot speak to it.

By the Court. Do you know whether this Mr Newsham was ill treated by Gov. Bligh's order or not? I know nothing of it: hearsay, I presume, is not evidence; it did not come within my knowledge.

What was the crime that Gore was charged with then? He was charged with that very crime for which he was tried.

You mean the business of the fraud? No, sir; it was for the felony, for entering into a house and taking out some property belonging to a Mr Macauley.

He was the police officer? No, sir; he had been gaoler; and I am not certain whether he was gaoler at that time or not.

By the Prisoner. Was there any legal accusation preferred against Mr Newsham? At that time none, sir, to my knowledge.

Was it at your request, or against your inclination, that Mr Crosley was consulted and employed by Gov. Bligh? It was with my own approbation. I was not bred to the law; mine has been a military life; and not understanding forms of law, it was at my request, and I did apply to Gov. Bligh to allow me to consult him upon that particular occasion, being ignorant at that time of the forms of law.

State to the Court the character and situation of Martin Mason in the colony of New South Wales. Martin Mason, sir, came out to New South Wales as surgeon of a merchant ship, I believe of a convict ship. After a considerable time, Gov. King, in consideration, as I believe, of his large family, having five children, appointed him Superintendent at a place called Toongabbee, where the worst characters were sent.

A Member. Does Superintendent import Superintendent of convicts, or Superintendent of works? Superintendent of convicts and of labour, sir: he was at the same time sworn in as a magistrate. After some time, various complaints came to me of oppression and otherwise ill conduct on his part towards the convicts; but as I knew the desperate set he had to deal with, I took little or no notice of them. At last, sir, a charge of a very serious nature was stated to the Governor, (Gov. King) which was, that Mr Mason having looked with an eye of cupidity (if I may be allowed the expression) on one of the convict women, but who refused to gratify him, he had tied her to a post, where she remained the whole night. This was inquired into by a Bench of Magistrates, of which I was one, when the fact was clearly proved; and in consequence he never was permitted to act as a magistrate afterwards, and the magistrates actually refused to act

with him : among others, Mr Marsden refused, I refused ; he was not permitted, to my knowledge, to act as a magistrate either at Toongabbee or at the Hawkesbury.

By the Court. Was he dismissed ? I don't know that he was dismissed, but I never knew him after that as a magistrate ; myself and the other magistrates refused to act with him ; but whether he was formally dismissed by the Governor, I cannot say.

Did he still continue Superintendant of the convicts ? I believe he did, but I am not certain of that. After some time, sir, Gov. King sent him to superintend the convicts at a place they call Hunter's River, or most commonly the Coal River, where the worst of the convicts are sent.

Even worse than those you first mentioned ? Even worse than those, sir ; we have all descriptions of them. He had not been there any great length of time before complaints upon complaints came to Sydney against him for cruelty and oppression, such as was really shocking to think of. He was sent for to Sydney, and the Commanding Officer at Hunter's River was desired to send such evidence as he might think necessary to prove the fact, which he did. The matter came before a Bench of Magistrates a second time, when it was clearly proved that he had been guilty of those oppressions and tyranny. There were two men brought, sir, who were so ill that we were obliged to take their evidence lying on the ground ; and they swore positively they were in that state owing to the ill treatment which they had received from Mr Mason, and which was corroborated by other evidence.

What sort of ill treatment was it that this was owing to ? To over-labour, sir ; and punishments of different kinds.

Was he dismissed ? Yes, sir.

By Gov. King ? Yes, sir.

You say, positively, he was dismissed ; that he did not resign ? He was dismissed, sir ; and afterwards went to the Hawkesbury and acted as a surgeon there : he had some land given him in consideration of his family, which he did not

cultivate, but lived upon his professional means as a surgeon among the settlers.

By the Prisoner. State to the Court your opinion of the Hawkesbury settlers; and what importance ought to be attached to an address from them to any Governor. I believe, sir, that, except a very few, a glass of gin would bias them.

What number do you mean by a very few? I mean, perhaps, six, or seven, or ten, I cannot exactly say what number.

What may be the number of the population altogether? I cannot say with precision; I suppose there might be 2000 people there; it is a settlement of about 60 or 70 miles in extent, and the whole population, (I don't mean settlers only) might be about 2000.

Were not a great majority of the Hawkesbury settlers, in consequence of their debts to Mr Palmer, Mr Campbell, and Andrew Thomson; much under their influence? There is no doubt of it, sir; they owed large sums of money to all three; but how far that influenced them it is not for me to judge.

Mr John M'Arthur sworn. *Examined by Lieut.-Col. Johnston.*

How long have you been established in New South Wales? I went to the colony in the year 1789, as an officer in the New South Wales Corps; twenty-one years since.

When did you first commence your agricultural pursuits in that colony? About the year 1793. The colony had, previously to that period, been in the extremest distress for provisions; the rations issued by the Government were frequently so small, that the greatest want prevailed, and absolute famine was often apprehended. When Major Grose, (now Gen. Grose, took the command of the colony as Lieutenant Governor, he considered it expedient to encourage cultivation by giving grants of land to the officers both civil and military. Among the persons so encouraged, was myself; and I devoted myself with great assiduity to the clearing

and the cultivating of the land given to me, and to the raising of every kind of animal fitted for food.

What quantity of live stock do you suppose you have reared in the period you have spoken of? To the best of my knowledge and belief, I have circulated among the settlers at least 20,000*l.* worth of breeding animals, all raised by myself.

A Member. We cannot judge of the number of the cattle by such a statement, because the prices might be very high.

The Witness. I have sent an immense quantity to the market to be slaughtered, and I am sure I may fairly estimate from my present stock, that the colony will be supplied with at least 100,000*lbs.* weight annually. It is perhaps proper that I should state to the Court, that the stock from which such large supplies have been obtained, originally consisted only of about six or seven cows, and about thirty ewes; and that from these I have raised 1,000 or 1,200 head of horned cattle, and at least 10 or 12,000 sheep. The last returns of my stock made the number of sheep 4,600, the horned cattle near 300, with about 50 horses.

Are those in addition to the numbers you before stated? No; they are the present stock.

What was the price of beef and mutton in the colony when you commenced breeding cattle and sheep; and what was the price when you left the colony? When I commenced, it fluctuated from 8*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per pound: before I left it, I supplied Government with a large quantity at 1*s.*: and since my departure they have been supplied with a still larger quantity at 9*d.*

At what period, and in what manner, did the Government of England encourage your agricultural views? In the beginning of the year 1804, some of the most eminent manufacturers of woollen cloth in England saw by accident some specimens of the wool that I had raised in New South Wales; its quality was so fine that it induced them to find me out, and to make particular inquiries how and in what manner

this wool had been raised. On my communicating to them all I knew upon the subject, they expressed a decided opinion that the colony of New Holland might, with proper encouragement, be enabled in time to supply the woollen manufacture of this country with the whole quantity of fine wool which was then, with great difficulty, obtained from Spain ; and such was the importance which they attached to this, that they signified their determination to communicate their opinion to Government by memorial, which was soon afterward done. In consequence of those memorials being sent in, I was directed to attend a Privy Council, before whom I was particularly examined as to the state of my flocks and their probable improvement. The Privy Council were so satisfied of the importance of the undertaking, that they recommended to the Secretary of State that it should be encouraged.

In what shape was the encouragement of Government conferred upon you ? Lord Camden, the then Secretary of State, was pleased to order me a grant of 5,000 acres of land, in a particular situation which I had pointed out to his lordship : at the same time he wrote to the Governor of the colony, directing that I was to be supplied with shepherds.

Did Gov. Bligh promote the intentions of Government in your favour, and forward your agricultural views ? Never, in the smallest degree.

State to the Court the circumstances of your first interview with Gov. Bligh on the subject of your agricultural speculations. When Gov. King gave up the government to the prosecutor, he, (Gov. King) retired with his family to the Government House at Paramatta. Having understood that the prosecutor was on a visit there, I went to the Government House ; this was about a month after he had taken the command. I found him walking in the garden perfectly disengaged, and alone ; and thinking it a proper opportunity to speak to him on the subject of my affairs, I inquired if he had been informed of the wishes of Government respecting them : I particularly alluded to the sheep, and the probable advan-

tages that might result to the colony and the mother-country from the production of fine wool. The prosecutor burst out instantly into a most violent passion, exclaiming, 'What have I to do with your sheep, sir; what have I to do with your cattle? Are you to have such flocks of sheep and such herds of cattle as no man ever heard of before? No, sir!' I endeavoured to appease him, by stating that I had understood the Government at home had particularly recommended me to his notice. He replied, 'I have heard of your concerns, sir; you have got 5,000 acres of land in the finest situation in the country; but, by God, you shan't keep it!' I told him that as I had received this land at the recommendation of the Privy Council and by the order of the Secretary of State, I presumed that my right to it was indisputable. 'Damn the Privy Council! and damn the Secretary of State, too!' he says; 'What have they to do with me? You have made a number of false representations respecting your wool, by which you have obtained this land.' I told him, I had made no false representations: and that luckily, as he was on the spot, he could, by examining the flocks, ascertain the fact himself; and there was a flock of 7 or 800 then at my house, within a mile of him; if he pleased he could examine them that morning. We immediately after entered the Government House, where we found Governor and Mrs King, and sat down to breakfast. The prosecutor then renewed the conversation about my sheep, addressing himself to Governor King; when he used such violent and insulting language to him, that Gov. King burst into tears. About two hours after, the prosecutor, Gov. King, and Major Abbott of the New South Wales Corps, came to my house, and a flock of sheep were produced for the prosecutor to examine. Their improvements were so apparent, and corresponded so exactly with my representations, that the prosecutor had nothing further to say in respect to the truth of what I had advanced. After a little general conversation respecting their probable increase in numbers and the value of the wool, he burst out

into a second passion, and asked me what this examination was for, as nobody ever doubted the possibility of raising fine wool in New South Wales; 'But what have I to do with it?' I told him in the most respectful manner I could assume, that I certainly had understood him that morning as doubting the truth of my representations. 'No such thing!' he replied; 'and I desire, sir, you will never attempt to attach any such meanings to my words.' To draw off his attention from this subject, which seemed to give him great offence, I again mentioned that I was extremely desirous to ascertain how far his opinions corresponded with those of the Secretary of State. 'Damn the Secretary of State!' he answered, with the utmost violence; 'He commands at home; I command here.'

Mr McArthur then proceeded to accuse Gov. Bligh of taking from him two Government servants, and of depossessing him of some property which he held under lease from the crown, by removing the fence he was erecting. He also stated the origin of his quarrel with the Governor, which was in substance as follows:—He sent a schooner to Otaheite to procure salted pork: after the vessel had been some days at sea, a convict was found concealed among the fire-wood, for which she was seized, and £900 demanded as being forfeited on a bond which the deponent conceived had no relation to the voyage she had been employed on. He therefore abandoned the vessel, and dismissed the crew, who complained to the Governor. His excellency therefore issued a warrant against Mr McArthur, which he resisted, but next day it was executed by force. He then gave bail, and appealed against the Judge Advocate acting on the trial, because he was his avowed enemy. The Court supported his objections, but the Governor committed him to prison, and summoned the six officers that formed the Court to answer a charge of suspicion of treason. After this the Governor was arrested.

On his cross-examination he admitted that he had had differences with Gov. Phillips, Gov. Hunter, and Gov. King.

That he had fought a duel with Gov. Paterson, and was sent home a prisoner, but released by the Commander in Chief, and that he also fought a duel with Col. Foveaux.

Nothing very particular resulted from the examination of Lieutenants Finucane and Kemp, but Lieut. Minchia stated that several persons who were acquitted by the Criminal Court, were afterwards brought before a bench of magistrates, and punished for the same offence, the Governor not being satisfied with the decision of the Court. He affirmed that he had no intimacy with Mr M'Arthur, and proceeded to state the situation in which Gov. Bligh was found at the time of his arrest. 'He was,' said this witness, 'in a small room up stairs that appeared to me to be a servant's room; there was a small bedstead and some lumber in it. I was called toward that room, I believe, by the Governor's Secretary, Mr Griffin; I think it was his voice. The Governor was then standing up; there were two or three soldiers in the room; two, I recollect perfectly. His bosom was open, his shirt frill out, and he appeared to me to be in the act of putting it into his waistcoat at the time I went into the room. From his putting his hand to put the frill of his shirt in, one of the soldiers called out to me, "Take care, he has got a pistol." I then ordered the soldiers away, and I said to the Governor, that I was extremely sorry he suffered himself to be found in that manner; that he had not come forward in the first instance to meet the officers. A corporal who was in the room, and who is now in the 73d regiment, said, as he was going out, "We found him there, sir," (pointing under the bedstead.) The fore part of his coat, the lappels, were full of dust, and the back part full of feathers: he appeared to be very much agitated; indeed I never saw a man so much frightened in my life, in appearance. When I went into the room he reached his hand to me, and asked me if I would protect his life. I assured him his life was not in danger; and that I would pledge my own for the safety of his. I then told him that Col. Johnston was in the room be-

low, and that I would see him safely to him if he would allow me: he took my arm, and we walked down stairs together. On our getting to the stairs, his secretary came up the other side, and said, "Will you take my arm, sir?" the Governor replied, "No; I am perfectly safe with Mr Minchin." I shewed him to the room where Major Johnston was waiting. The Governor came towards him, and I must acknowledge it surprised me to see the Governor reach his hand toward him; Col. Johnston told him he had taken that step at the request of the whole of the inhabitants, and that he was sorry he was obliged to do it for the preservation of the colony. Gov. Bligh thanked him for the handsome manner in which he had carried the wishes of the inhabitants into effect, and said, that had he before known he was so much disliked by the inhabitants, he would have left the colony. Some other conversation passed, which I do not immediately recollect, until, coming out at the door, I heard the Governor say to Col. Johnston, He hoped he would have no objection to his having a few friends to eat a bit of dinner with him now and then? Col. Johnston said "Certainly not, sir;" and immediately after that I left the house.

This witness underwent a long cross-examination relative to the truth of his statement concerning the Governor interfering improperly in the administration of justice.

Mr John Blaxland deposed, that he became a settler in New South Wales in consequence of an agreement with the Secretary of State. He had to have 8000 acres, and the labour of 80 convicts, and a free passage out for himself, family, and stock; in return for which the deponent engaged to employ a capital of not less than 6000*l*. He said that the capital he employed exceeded 14,500*l*. but that he could only obtain 1,290 acres, and 21 convicts, and was in other respects ill used by Gov. Bligh, who refused to fulfil the agreement.

On his cross-examination, he acknowledged having signed a subscription-paper, intended to defray the expences of John M^cArthur, Esq. who was appointed to proceed to England, in order to lay before Government the mal-administration of Gov. Bligh. It also appeared that he had not produced satisfactory documents, when called on by Gov. Bligh, to prove that he had actually employed the capital stipulated for, and that no more convicts could be granted without prejudice to the public works. It came also out on the examination of this witness, that Lieut.-Col. Johnston had complained of his conduct after Gov. Bligh's arrest. His evidence was very confused.

Lieut. Kent, Acting Commander of the Porpoise, said, that he carried verbal orders from Gov. Bligh to Captain Piper, the Commandant at Norfolk Island, that he was to send the settlers off the island, and in case any of them refused to go, he was to use military force, and if any of them took to the woods, he was to outlaw them and to shoot them. He stated further, that the settlers chose rather to go to the Derwent than to Port Dalrymple, because the former was considered as without the jurisdiction of Gov. Bligh.

This witness also stated, that Gov. Bligh gave him orders to batter down the town of Sydney, and to compel the inhabitants to reinstate him, and that when he came on board, he was in a violent rage because he had not obeyed this order. He was confined two years, brought home, and acquitted by a court martial. The instructions sent to Capt. Piper from Gov. Bligh, relative to the evacuation of Norfolk Island was put in, and appeared to be drawn up in the most judicious and humane manner.

Mr David Dickinson Mann stated, that he had a house worth 400*l*. which Gov. Bligh ordered him to pull down, and to give up the lease. When the witness mentioned the laws of England, which entitled him to a just and quiet possession,

the Governor hastily replied, 'Damn your laws of England! don't talk to me of your laws of England: I will make laws for this colony, and every wretch of you, son of a bitch, shall be governed by them; or there (pointing over to the gaol) is your habitation!' He then bowed to him, and wished him a good morning.—This witness also stated, that he informed Mr Palmer three months before Gov. Bligh's arrest, that unless steps were taken to conciliate the people, a revolution would shortly happen. On his cross-examination, it was asked whether his house had not been erected within the line marked out for the Government domains, but of this the witness professed his ignorance.

Serjeant-Major Thomas Whittle sworn. *Examined by*
Lieut.-Col. Johnston.

Had you a leasehold in the town of Sydney, with a house built on it? I had, sir.

What was the value of it? The value, sir, it stood me in, was about 510*l*.

Did Capt. Bligh ever order you to pull down that house? Capt. Bligh, sir, came to me one morning about seven o'clock.

When was this? About four or five months before he was put under arrest. He came with two dragoons after him, sir. I saw him coming towards the gate, and I went and paid him the compliment that was due to him. He asked me how I came by it. I told him, sir, that I had exchanged it for a house that I had lived in before, with a man of the name of Connor, on the other side of the water. He bawled out in a very violent manner, (and all the neighbours heard it) that I might chop and change as I pleased, but he would have the house down by ten o'clock, and that I was welcome to take the bricks off the ground. 'Sir,' says I, 'I have got a lease of this house:' then he paused a bit, and afterwards, says he, 'How long has that lease to run?' Says I, 'It has about six or seven years to run, and it is signed by Gov. Hunter.' 'Well,' says he, 'I will have the house down again by ten

o'clock, and you shall neither take bricks nor any thing else away, but it shall be all mine, house, and ground, and all." I dressed myself, sir, and went to parade, and mentioned the circumstance to my adjutant, Adj. Minchin. He advised me, sir, to let the Commanding Officer know, to see whether he could protect it for me; and I immediately signed it over to my commanding officer for his protection.

Who was your commanding officer? Col. Johnston.

Was it commonly known that you had been ordered to pull down your house? Yes, sir; it was over in the town in less than half an hour. I had a little business at the Hospital Wharf, and every body had it in their mouths, that it had been ordered to be pulled down; and were saying what a pity it was that such an elegant house should be pulled down.

What effect did that produce upon its value? A great deal, sir; I could have got 600% for it before that, and afterwards I could get nothing for it, till I sold it to Gov. Macquarie for 200 gallons of rum.

On his cross-examination he admitted having assisted in chairing Mr M'Arthur, but did not know of any transparencies being in his house in ridicule of Gov. Bligh. Before his cross-examination was finished, he fainted away, and was taken out of court,

Several serjeants were now examined, who all expressed their belief, except one, that had the six officers been imprisoned, the soldiers would have mutinied and released them. After this the defence closed.

Lieut.-Col. Johnston was then permitted to offer his observations to the Court. This being heard, Gov. Bligh gave in his reply, which was read by the Judge Advocate. The Governor complained much that his whole life had been searched for occasions of censure. When found, he said he was in the attitude of tearing his papers, which lay on the floor. 'It has been said,' he added, 'that this circumstance would make the heroes of the British navy blush with shame

and burn with indignation. I certainly at such a suggestion burn with indignation, but who ought to blush with shame I leave others to determine. The Court will forgive me if I intrude a moment on their time, to mention the services in which I have been employed. For twenty-one years I have been a Post-captain, and have been engaged in services of danger, not falling within the ordinary duties of my profession: for four years with Capt. Cook in the *Resolution*, and four years more as a commander myself, I traversed unknown seas, braving difficulties more terrible because less frequently encountered. In subordinate situations I fought under Admiral Parker at the Dogger Bank, and Lord Howe at Gibraltar. In the battle of Camperdown the Director, under my command, first silenced and then boarded the ship of Admiral de Winter; and after the battle of Copenhagen, where I commanded the *Glatton*, I was sent for by Lord Nelson to receive his thanks publicly on the quarter-deck. Was it for me then to sully my reputation and to disgrace the medal I wear by shrinking from death, which I had braved in every shape? An honourable mind will look for some other motive for my retirement, and will find it in my anxiety for those papers, which during this inquiry have been occasionally produced to the confusion of those witnesses who thought they no longer existed.

I have not," he concluded, "so far forgotten the feelings of a man in the character of a Prosecutor, as to feel any interest in this investigation, except as it is connected with the vindication of my honour and reputation; and if Col. Johnson's innocence be consistent with that vindication, I shall be the first to rejoice at his acquittal. From my whole conduct and character before I took the command, I ask for a favourable construction of my actions. To the regulations and orders made during my government; to the public dispatches sent home to the Secretary of State; to the written instructions in opposition to any supposed verbal orders; to the list of the papers seized at my arrest; I appeal, and with confi-

dence, for proofs of my general providence, attention, and humanity, my zeal for the welfare of my country, and my anxiety for the prosperity of the colony. I now leave the whole case to the judgment of the members of this honourable court, thanking them for their unwearied assiduity during this long inquiry, and the patient attention with which this address has been heard. [*The court was cleared ; in less than an hour afterwards the court broke up, and did not meet again. On the second of July the sentence was issued, as follows.*]

“ GENERAL ORDERS.

Horse Guards, 2d July, 1811.

“ At a General Court Martial, held at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, on the 7th May, 1811, and continued by adjournments to the 5th of June following, Lieut.-Col. George Johnston, Major of the 102d regiment, was arraigned upon the undermentioned charge, viz.—

‘ That Lieut.-Col. George Johnston, Major as aforesaid, did, on or about the 26th day of January, 1808, at Sydney, in the colony of New South Wales, begin, excite, cause, and join in, a mutiny, by putting himself at the head of the New South Wales Corps, then under his command and doing duty in the colony, and seizing and causing to be seized and arrested, and imprisoning and causing to be imprisoned, by means of the above-mentioned military force, the person of William Bligh, Esq. then Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the territory of New South Wales.’

“ Upon which charge the court came to the following decision :—

‘ The Court having duly and maturely weighed and considered the whole of the evidence adduced on the Prosecution, as well as what has been offered in defence, are of opinion that *Lieut.-Col. Johnston is guilty* of the act of Mutiny as described in the charge, and do therefore sentence him to be *Cashiered*.

" His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, was pleased, under all the circumstances of this case, to acquiesce in the sentence of the Court.

" The Court, in passing a sentence so inadequate to the enormity of the crime of which the prisoner has been found guilty, have apparently been actuated by a consideration of the novel and extraordinary circumstances, which, by the evidence on the face of the proceedings, may have appeared to them to have existed during the administration of Gov. Bligh, both as affecting the tranquillity of the colony, and calling for some immediate decision. But although the Prince Regent admits the principle under which the court have allowed this consideration to act in mitigation of the punishment which the crime of mutiny would otherwise have suggested, yet no circumstances whatever can be received by His Royal Highness in full extenuation of an assumption of power, so subversive of every principle of good order and discipline under which Lieut.-Col. Johnson has been convicted.

" The Commander in Chief directs that the charge preferred against Lieut.-Col. Johnston, together with the sentence of the Court, and His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's pleasure thereon, shall be read at the head of every regiment, and entered in the regimental orderly book.

" By command of his Royal Highness

" The Commander in Chief,

" HARRY CALVERT, Adj.-Gen."

Such was the result of this important trial, which involved considerations and consequences of the highest interest. The materials of which this colony is constituted, and its immense distance from home, certainly requires a vigorous and respected government. The danger of permitting insurrections to pass over with impunity, and the necessity of enforcing colonial subordination, all concurred to require some

signal punishment to be inflicted on those who had ventured to oppose, degrade, and imprison his Majesty's representative. Yet no doubt can remain on the mind after perusing the trial, but that Lieut.-Col. Johnston was actuated by a consideration of the novel and extraordinary circumstances which appeared to exist, and which, affecting the tranquillity of the colony, called for some immediate measure of decision. All the witnesses admitted that this officer was remarkable for his peaceful and retired habits; that he had no particular intimacy with the gentleman whose conduct and trial were the immediate causes of the arrest; that he filled the expensive and arduous office of Governor without requiring any remuneration, and that he diminished his popularity by lessening the expenditure of the public money.

These circumstances sufficiently prove that *his intentions were pure*, and that he was actuated by the patriotic motive of saving the colony from the dreadful effects of military insubordination, as he had once before saved it from the licentious violence of a numerous, desperate, and armed mob of convicts. This affair will, it is to be hoped, be productive of good consequences. It will render the ministers in future more cautious and attentive in selecting a Governor properly qualified for occupying so trying and delicate a situation; and it will teach inferior officers the propriety of repressing any casual burst of public indignation, with all their power and influence, and of holding the post allotted them to the very last extremity.

The new Colony of New South Wales is undoubtedly one of the boldest and most singular experiments ever tried. To plant a settlement merely with robbers, thieves, and vagabonds, is a project which was never before attempted. In America the transported felon was landed amidst a sober, honest, and industrious body of people. His vices were neither permitted nor encouraged by his associates, and he was soon compelled by the most irresistible motives to change his habits, and to deserve the public confidence and approbation.

He was, therefore, soon moulded into the general mass, and his object was to blot out the remembrance of the causes of his introduction. But in New South Wales there are but two classes, convicts and their masters, or overseers. The luxuries and vices of civilized society continue still to influence and deprave their desires, and to counteract the effects which a change of place and situation might produce in accelerating their moral regeneration.

This perhaps is a radical error in the formation of these settlements. We have, indeed, heard many accounts of the wonderful transformations which have taken place ; of robbers and highwaymen being converted into good husbands, and of the most abandoned thieves and prostitutes into intelligent and industrious mothers, but we fear these statements are exaggerated ; for the history of this colony presents little else but a continued disgusting, and sickening series of crimes, which could only originate from the most inveterate depravity. There are, however, some noble exceptions, where individuals of industrious habits have raised a small capital, cultivated land, and after their emancipation have entered into commercial speculations, and now ranks amongst the richest and most respectable inhabitants of the colony.

The salubrity of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the excellence of the situation of the country adjoining Port Jackson, are circumstances which must ultimately render it a great and flourishing country. Settlers possessed of a large capital have here ample means of employing it with incalculable advantage. The former scarcity, which so frequently recurred, was principally owing to the careless, abandoned, and improvident character of the convicts ; but the success of Mr Mc Arthur, in rearing stock, shews what may be effected with even a moderate capital properly applied. The greatest impediment to improvement arises from the high price of labour ; but a scheme, equally sure and effectual, might be adopted in order to remove this evil. Were a few spirited capitalists to engage a vessel to proceed to the coast of China,

to encourage some of the industrious but half-starved inhabitants of that country to settle in New South Wales, a communication might readily be opened, and numbers of Chinese would flock to a country where the exertions of industry were so well rewarded. It is a prejudice to suppose that these people refuse to quit their native country. Necessity operates with equal power over all men, and the thousands of peaceful and industrious Chinese which inhabit the numerous islands in the south of Asia, sufficiently attest their inclination to emigrate.

The combination which would thus be formed between the bold, restless, and active characters of the British convicts, and the timid, passive, and industrious habits of the Chinese, would constitute another curious and singular experiment in morals and legislation. The European, from his superior address and knowledge, would acquire a kind of superiority, which, requiring the assumption of a correspondent character, generally tends to alter and improve the moral character. New sources of industry might thus be opened. The whale and seal fishery might be prosecuted with redoubled vigour. Coals in large quantities might be sent to India and the Cape of Good Hope. A commerce might be established with the inhabitants of Peru, extremely advantageous to both parties. Cargoes of salted provisions might be obtained in exchange for trinkets, &c. with the natives of the South Sea Islands, and a most lucrative commerce might be carried on by purchasing furs, on the north-west coast of America, and selling them to the Chinese near the mouth of the Yellow River. These branches of trade are at present scarcely regarded, from the limited powers of the Colonists; while the raising of articles, useful and necessary to the mother country, and for which their soil and climate are so well adapted, is far from receiving the encouragement it deserves. But at the present time, when the strength, commerce, and existence of the country are so furiously attacked, it is hoped that our opu-

lent merchants, for the good of their country, as well as for their individual interest, will emulate each other in encouraging every scheme which is calculated to promote the prosperity of even the most distant part of the British empire, particularly a part which, from a variety of circumstances, seems destined to fix the attention and excite the admiration of posterity.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Map of Australasia.....	<i>to face Title.</i>	
Plan of Port Jackson, &c.....		page 41
Night Scene at Sydney.....		— 103
Ceremony of initiating a Boy into the Class of Men		— 109
Bennillong in his European Dress		— 219

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